

INSIDE:
NUCLEAR
MARKET

KEEP STRONG

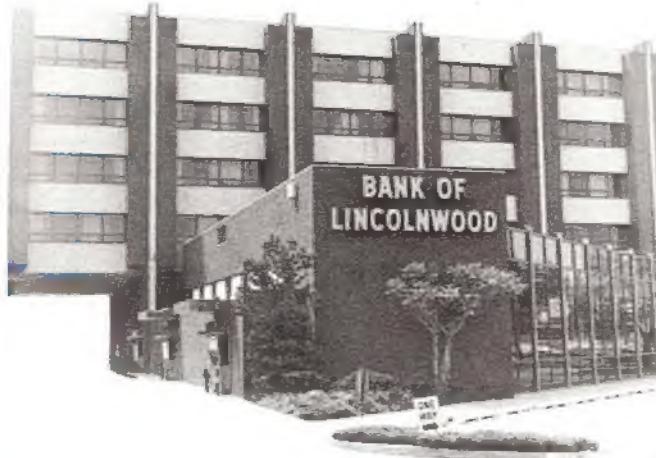
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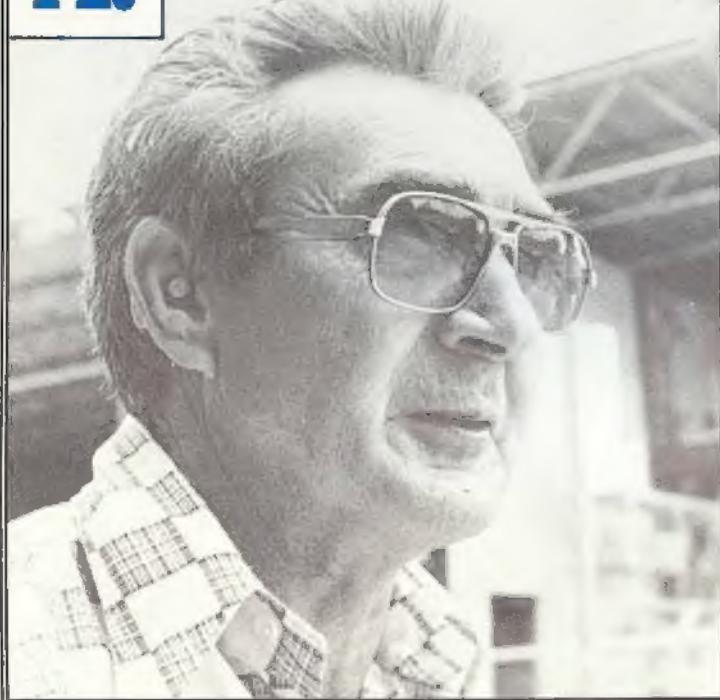
The Lincolnwood Connection

If you thought
Lincolnwood was a quiet
suburb, then you've
never met Ralph Axelrod.
See page 44.

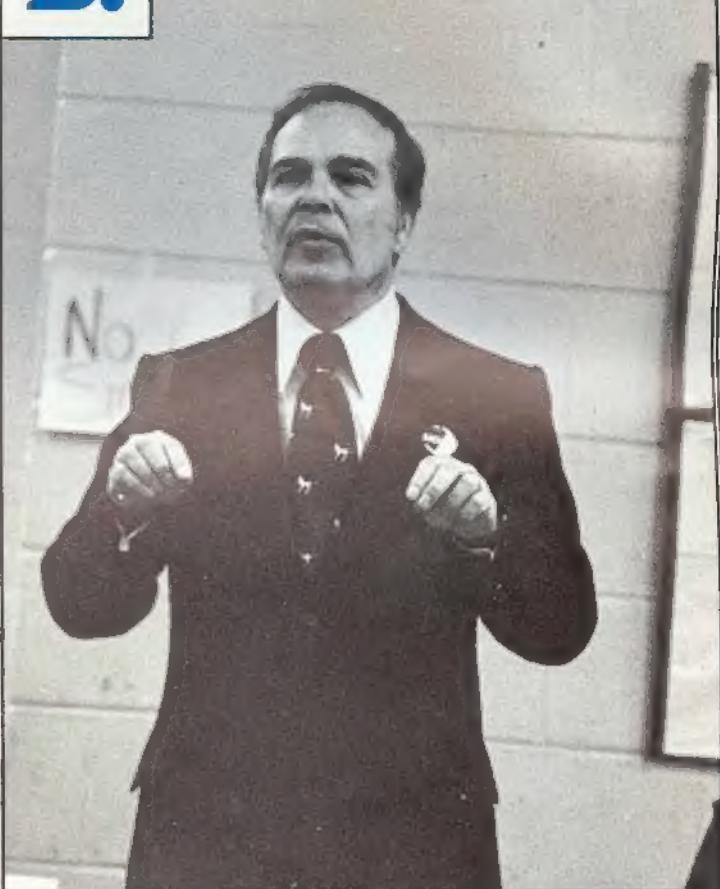


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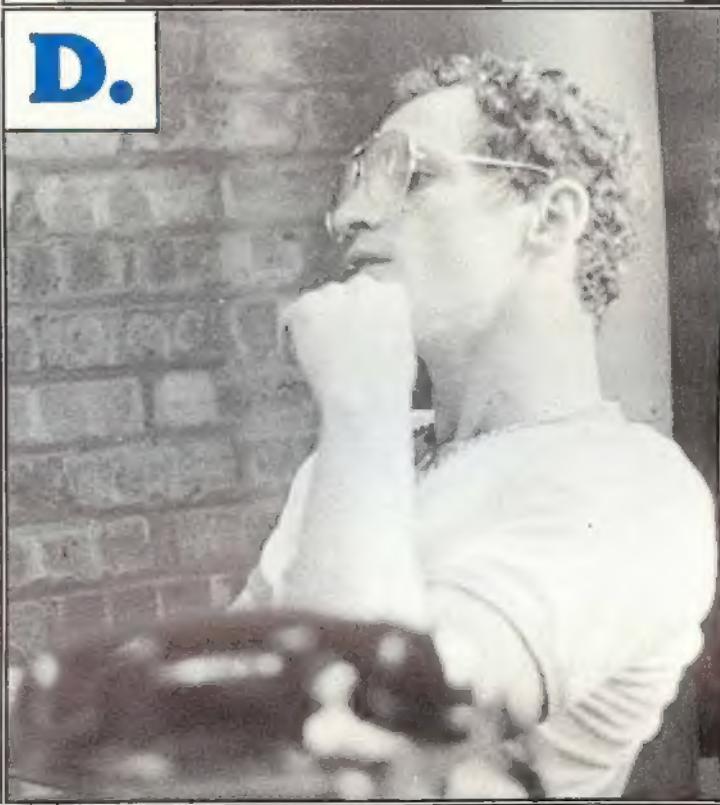
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EDITORIAL

Helen Shiller: She Terrified the Machine, Won the Hearts of Ordinary People

Helen Shiller's campaign in the 46th ward truly challenged the machine. Not as Jane Byrne did: to take its leadership and try to make it work more effectively. And not as many members of "the loyal opposition" did, vigorously pointing out its corruptions and hoping for voter outrage to sweep them into office.

Helen Shiller challenged the machine with something they didn't have: a program.

The making of Helen Shiller's program had taken nearly eight years. It started with the basic premise that Chicago should be developed from the point of view of the people that live in this city's communities, not from the point of view of those Loop financial interests who are given free rein by the machine to manipulate Chicago's future for their own profits. Her program was specific, developed through interaction with the people of the 46th ward's communities, and she promised to continue the development of this people's program whether or not she was elected.

On January 30 of this year, almost

3,000 people in the 46th ward registered to vote for the February 27 election, three times the number that had ever registered before in the ward and twice as many as registered on that day in any of the 48 of the other 50 wards in the city.

When the full impact of the weapon hit them, the machine's brokers responded. Tens of thousands of dollars were raised, laundered and spent in a matter of days.

Workers and thugs from wards all over the city were brought in, high priced campaign organizers were hired. The developers who stood to lose millions of dollars by Helen Shiller's election pulled every string they knew how to pull. Together they bought, they intimidated, and they attempted to terrify people with a slander campaign of racism and fear.

The people who had been the most defenseless in the past to the tactics of the machine, the people of Uptown, could not be fooled, bought or scared off. They elected Helen Shiller their representative. Thousands of other people, from Lake Shore Drive to Ravenswood, were moved by Ms. Shiller's program to get control of



The thousands of people who became activists during the campaign will be the core of a new citizens army.

our ward and our city back from the banks, utilities companies and real estate developers.

And in the end it was only through the massive illegalities on election day that the machine was able to gain a slim 200 vote margin in the highest voter turnout in the history of the ward and elect as alderman the man who will always be known, by the name Mike Royko gave him, as the "tree stump."

A call to the Cook County Democratic Central Committee offices asking for their platform and program for Chicago will get you a baffled silence and a shrug of the shoulders. The machine does not and has never had a detailed program for the future direction of Chicago.

Now the battle begins. What if the machine were not able to concentrate its forces to defeat one candidate? What if

the people in the 46th ward and throughout the city were really armed with a concrete specific program to develop the city from their own point of view? What will the machine do when the people hold their candidates up to a people's program for judgement? What if the people were so clear on what they wanted that they could not be bought, intimidated or panicked?

The development of a real people's program city-wide will take organization and thousands of dedicated workers. But it will happen. Helen Shiller's campaign will be seen as a new beginning, and the thousands of people who became activists during her campaign will be the core of the citizens' army that exposes the treason of a political machine that takes our government and gives it to the bankers and their associates. Then that citizens' army will bring the traitors to their knees. □

SPRINGFIELD

"I'd Rather Fight Than Starve"

(Chicago, Ill.) On May 3, 500 angry welfare recipients and their children invaded the state capital at Springfield. They represented the newly formed "Coalition for People's Rights," a coalition organized in over a dozen Chicago communities and, for the first time in over ten years, a coalition fighting for improvements for welfare recipients that is led and controlled by welfare recipients. The purpose of the Springfield "invasion" was to insure, at least, that House Bill 1319 is passed by the legislature and signed by the governor.

House Bill 1319, introduced by progressive State Repre-

sentative Carol Moseley Braun, calls for a seven percent cost of living increase for all public aid grants. The Coalition points out the government says now that a minimum "low-income standard of living" for a family of four must be at least \$11,000 a year because of inflation. But in Illinois a family of four on public aid gets slightly less than \$4,000 a year. Tighter regulation has kept recipients from developing any income on the side, and food stamps have been cut next to nothing. Rents and food alone have nearly doubled since the last cost of living increase several years ago so that for a family of four, the allotted \$333 a month will only cover a month's rent and

ten days' food. That is why recipients were saying on May 3 that "I'd rather fight than starve."

Rep. Braun proved, in introducing the bill, that the money for the cost of living increase is already there in a \$16 million surplus from the 1979 public aid budget and that there is, with the recent attack on who is eligible for aid, another \$32.2 million decrease in the work load projected. This is a total operating surplus of \$48.3 million, and the seven percent increase would cost only about \$32 million.

The Coalition arrived in Springfield early in the morning, gathered quickly to hear speeches and battle plans from community leaders Marion Stamps, Helen Shiller and others, then broke into delegations of five to ten to visit the legislators. While some representatives responded to the pressure and the logic of the Coalition's arguments, others



Angry welfare recipients invaded the state capital to insure passage of House Bill 1319, calling for a 7 percent cost of living increase.



State Rep. Braun (foreground) detailed a \$48.3 million surplus in the public aid budget which could be used to provide the seven percent cost of living increase.

Showed their contempt. In the words of State Representative Daniel O'Brien, "No reason for me to be concerned about this. Poor people didn't put me into office."

After the sessions with the legislators, the group regathered in front of Governor Thompson's office. A delegation had been selected to meet with the governor and had an appointment. As the governor kept the delegation waiting, the tension mounted. The chants and songs of the Coalition rocked the statehouse building, and finally the children took over the governor's reception area, marching and singing. It was then that the governor sent for the Coalition delegation.

The Coalition presented the governor with Representative Braun's analysis of the budget showing that the money was already there for more than a seven percent increase and explained in great detail to him

the realities of starvation. They demanded that he fight for a 10 percent increase and at the minimum support Carol Moseley Braun's bill.

The governor's immediate response was to put the problem off on the legislature and try to divide the Coalition. Thompson sidestepped Braun's analysis, saying, "The money is not there," and "What I do depends on how much the legislature appropriates for me to spend." Thompson went on to say that he had demands for money for Cook County Hospital and for state aid to education from Chicago groups and, certain that the legislature would not appropriate enough for all three, he would have to choose.

The Coalition refused to be set against the needs of Cook County Hospital or the schools. "We are here representing those demands as well," they said. "Cook County is our hospital, and it is our children

who are being deprived of an adequate education. The money for the seven percent increase is already in the budget."

The governor, at the urging of the delegation, finally emerged to speak to the 500 Coalition members waiting outside. There he found that he could not sidestep. Ten years wiser, the welfare movement is angry and informed and would not be satisfied with the governor's ploys.

Determined that only by continuing pressure would even small gains be made, the Coalition returned to Chicago to plan the next offensive. "One thing we did find," said a member of the group, "is that most of the elected officials in Springfield know that we turned out and voted and beat the machine last February. They are not taking us lightly. But without a people's Coalition keeping the pressure on between elections, nothing will happen." □

HOUSING LAW

Ellis Hotel Burns – Former Tenants File Suit Allege Arson-For-Profit Conspiracy

Late in the evening of February 19, 1979, the Ellis Hotel burst into flames. It burned for over six hours, killing two tenants. The fire was so powerful, it damaged electrical wires, knocking out power in the surrounding area.

It was the second fire in the building that evening and the third that week. While the 79

residents were caught off guard, many of them escaped, jumping (or in the case of children, being tossed) out of second and third story windows.

The building had been in building court numerous times. But the actual owner, Charles Roberts, had been successful at manipulating its legal owner-

ship, making it impossible, according to the city, to hold any one person accountable for its deterioration.

Two weeks after the fire, residents of the building filed an unprecedented lawsuit against present and former owners of the building. In a statement read by community activist Helen Shiller, the tenants outlined the suit:

"What is alleged in this lawsuit is that there is, in fact, an organized ring of men, some with documented criminal connections, who have maintained ownership of buildings in the Uptown area, reaping great profits, with the express intent of allowing the buildings to deteriorate to the point where they are a clear and present danger to the life and safety of the tenants who live in them."

"This ring of men avoided the building code of the city of Chicago by trading buildings back and forth among themselves in order to avoid prosecution. Of the nine buildings in Uptown owned by this ring in the last several years, six have been destroyed by fire. Three people have been killed."

"The Ellis Hotel fire may have been the most dramatic of these because of media attention, but it was not the only one where there was loss of life. Tragically, the destruction of the Ellis could have been avoided. The building was in housing court. A cursory inspection would have revealed that, among other violations, the management had removed



The fire at the Ellis Hotel was the third in a week. The building had been cited for safety violations many times in the past ten years.

the fire extinguishers shortly before the final fire and had placed a 'smudge pot' filled with potentially explosive diesel fuel in the hallway on the fourth floor.

"If those involved with this case had cared, the building could and should have been taken away from this group and been placed in receivership while violations were corrected. The alderman of our ward, by his own admission, was involved in the building since last November. The information available to him and his ward secretary, who is a corporation counsel in housing court, should have caused him to identify the ring of men involved in this building and to demand immediate receivership. Instead, by his own

admission, he was negotiating with one of these men, who has over 30 buildings in housing court throughout the city, to get federal monies."

Although the tenants' suit has not yet come to trial, attorneys and organizers believe that the filing of the suit itself, through the discovery it will make available, will expose and further obstruct Roberts and his associates, as well as racketeers like them, from milking and destroying other buildings.

In the meantime, the Ellis' burned out shell and the graves of George Herme, 50 and Samuel Taylor, 48, stand as evidence of the effectiveness of the city's code compliance and law enforcement agencies. □



Onis and Annie Burkhart are plaintiffs in the suit that charges 'arson for profit.'

Fires continue to ravage Uptown.

The firehouse at Wilson and Racine continues to be one of the busiest in the city. In the last year fires have destroyed 12 buildings in Uptown and devastating fires have struck the community an average of once every three days. The most recent of these was the fire at 4436 N. Magnolia



HEALTH CARE

Hazel-Wilson Clinic – “Hardware Medical Care”?

(Chicago, Ill.) The Neighborhood Health Center at Hazel and Wilson, run by the city's often criticized Board of Health, has been the focus of community controversy many times since it opened in 1972..

Built in response to an organized demand for decent health care facilities in Uptown, the clinic was being criticized, while it opened, by community leaders who, pointing to the \$11 million construction cost and shortage of professional medical staff, called it "hardware medical care."

Yet faced with a choice of hostile emergency rooms or storefront charlatans selling pills, thousands of Uptown residents turned to the health center for medical attention. Sources at the health center estimate that over 500 people are seen there each day.

Now a new controversy, involving shortened clinic hours and federal funding of a parking lot, threatens to once again make the clinic a sore point between the city and Uptown residents. In April of this year employees and patients of the clinic were informed that as of May 5, the clinic would no longer be open on Saturdays and would close on the two

evenings that it had been open before.

The patients were notified by a sign posted at the front door. The sign offered no explanation. The staff was told that a cost effectiveness study had



Dr. Muriel said he knew nothing about plans to build a parking lot next to the Hazel-Wilson clinic.

been conducted and determined that staff costs were too high for the number of patients the clinic was serving. The staff was also told that patients in the evening and on Saturdays had been surveyed to determine if they would be inconvenienced by the change. The results of the survey indicated that most people would be able to come on weekdays.

"Survey, what survey? I work there at nights and on Saturdays, and I never saw anyone doing any survey," was the reaction of one longtime staffer when told about the alleged survey.

Because of the timing of the announcement, just before Mayor Byrne named a new health commissioner, it was clear that the cutbacks had been the decision of the now deposed and discredited Murray Brown, former commissioner of health, and the men around him. In the first week of May a new announcement was made. The clinic would remain open six days a week from 8 am to 4 pm.

KEEP STRONG contacted Dr. Hugo Muriel, newly appointed commissioner of health, to get a firsthand account of the changes at the clinic. Dr. Muriel explained, "The decision to keep the clinic open six days and no evenings was one of three options open to us. It's not really different than a private doctor determining his office hours. You don't want to have the office open for three hours and see two patients. We looked at it carefully and



Built in response to an organized demand for health care in Uptown, the Hazel-Wilson clinic was criticized before it opened as 'hardware medical care.'

decided to do this. But I am personally committed to review the situation in three months and make whatever changes are necessary including going back to the old schedule if that seems necessary."

While he did not have the exact figures at hand, Dr. Muriel believed that the cost effectiveness study showed that evening hours received the lightest use and, therefore, were most easily cut. To his knowledge no employees were being terminated as a result of the cut in evening hours.

Dr. Muriel said he had no knowledge of any plans to build a parking lot next to the clinic with federal money. But David Larsen at the city's Department of Planning, City and Community Development admitted that an \$80 thousand parking lot did appear in the draft of the city's community development proposal for the upcoming year.

Other sources indicated that such a request would have to begin in the Department of Health. Larry Thieda, planning officer for the Department of Health, said he had no knowledge of any specific request for funding for the parking lot. "It's still up in the air. The lot is caught between a series of agencies, and we don't even know how much the land will sell for. We haven't asked for any money for that project yet. Call me back in a couple of weeks, and maybe I'll have some more information."

The land in question is the site of the old Clarendon Beach Hotel at 831 W. Wilson. The building, which has been vacated for several months, was demolished in the first week and a half of May.

Real estate sources say that \$80 thousand is not a realistic price tag for the acquisition, clearance and development of the land as a parking lot and

more money will have to be spent.

Others have questioned the wisdom of purchasing that particular piece of land, whose purchase price is bound to include the cost of demolition, when a similarly sized empty lot borders the clinic to the south.

While no one at the Board of Health knows who asked for the parking lot, how much it will cost or if it is even needed, the request for funding is slowly working its way through the city to the Department of Housing and Urban Development that will ultimately approve it. Uptown community residents and leaders are beginning to think that the talk of cost effectiveness as a justification for dropping the clinic evening hours is less than honest alongside a plan to spend over \$100 thousand to build a parking lot that no one asked for. □

HEALTH CARE

Pure Brothers Exposed — Stratford Home Ordered Closed

(Chicago, Ill.) What started as a disclosure of rotten campaign practices by machine alderman Ralph Axelrod became a nationally televised expose and a nightmare for state officials in the Departments of Public Aid and Mental Health.

In an article in its January 1979 issue, KEEP STRONG Magazine disclosed conditions at a northside psychiatric halfway house: "The Stratford at 4131 N. Sheridan Road, years ago a classy hotel, has since been turned, by profit motive, into a veritable dungeon. The 180 residents of the Stratford live amid wretched filth, broken toilets and exposed wiring. The four story building's only elevator has been known to remain broken for weeks at a time. The residents are fed leftovers from the Pure brothers' catering business, which are delivered daily. All receive heavy doses of tranquilizing drugs each day, some as much as 300-400 units of Thorazine four times a day.

"The Pures avoid state law and a public aid payment condition that requires a nurse

to be on duty 24 hours a day to dispense the powerful drugs, by having non-qualified nurses aides administer the tranquilizers. Public aid investigators check by regularly to look at the time cards. Each morning and evening, a time card is punched for an absent or fictitious nurse. The state pays the Pure brothers \$440 per month for each of the 180 residents of the Stratford."

The article went on to point out that Axelrod and his chief aide, corporation counsel Jerry Orbach, seemed to have looked the other way for years while the halfway house's health and safety violations were compounded. But the article reasoned that Axelrod could not have been looking the other way all the time. His precinct captains pumped the building for 80 to 100 "easy votes" every election day, taking full advantage of the thorazine-dosed voters.

On Tuesday, April 24, ABC television's news magazine program "20/20" revealed the findings of a two month investigation of the Stratford, its sister hotel, the Traemour at 5427 N. Kenmore, and the Pure brothers. Staff from "20/20" and Chicago's Better Government Association had examined and infiltrated every aspect of the Pures' operation, including the catering business mentioned in the KEEP STRONG article.

State and city officials, obviously embarrassed at the national exposure of a well-hidden sore, ordered immediate

inspections of both facilities. But observers within the state government saw the inspections as simple exercises. The public had been angered, and pressure was mounting by the hour to close the homes down.

Within 72 hours the Illinois Department of Public Health ordered both places to "close within 30 days." Social workers began interviewing patients and making arrangements to have them transferred to other facilities.

At first the Pures, self-claimed experts in the manipulation of state bureaucracies, balked at the government's order to close. On Sunday, April 29, Louis Pure declared, "The Governor's order means nothing to us." But the Pures' attempt to gain a temporary restraining order, barring the state from closing them down, was denied in court a few days later.

On Sunday, May 6, the Illinois Chapter of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees released a report of its six month investigation of 91 nursing homes in Illinois. The union, many of whose 12,000 members are employed in the care of the mentally ill, observed that, "Patient neglect and squalid conditions exist in nursing homes throughout Illinois, in nursing homes given tax money to care for former mental patients."

Larry Marquardt, Director of AFSCME Counsel 31, commented, "Those who believe

that Uptown facilities are the exception rather than the rule are wrong. What we found are only the recorded violations observed by public health inspectors — the tip of a huge iceberg of neglect."

Marquardt said that the state transfers 2,000 mental patients from state institutions to private nursing homes each year. "It is cheaper for the state to dump mental patients in nursing homes than provide decent care at a state mental health center. It is cheaper because the funds used come from the Illinois Department of Public Aid and are, therefore, federally reimbursable."

Amidst the growing controversy and scandal, one major federal agency seems to have been hoodwinked. A May 1 press release by the state Department of Mental Health proudly announced that the Illinois system for reimbursing nursing homes was one of five selected, nationally, for study by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Illinois was chosen for its "major innovations in health care financing and, subsequent analysis by research firms and universities under contract to HEW identified the Illinois system as a possible prototype for development on a national scale." Dr. Thomas Walsh, spokesman for the state health department has said recently that, "An important element in the Illinois nursing home reimbursement system is the linking of the conditions and needs of the patient to the cost of care." □



'The tip of a huge iceberg of neglect.' The AFSCME reporter concluded that the Stratford (above) was the rule not the exception.

INTERVIEW

LAWRENCE ZORNES JR.

Chairman
Chicago Area
Black Lung
Association

Lawrence Zornes grew up in Harlan County, Kentucky in the 1930's. The virtual state of war caused by the coal industry's refusal to recognize the unions is the root of the nickname 'Bloody Harlan.' The son of a miner, who went to prison for defending himself against a company thug, Lawrence Zornes learned the meaning of injustice early in life, when his family had to struggle just to survive. He worked over 10 years in the mines in West Virginia. When he became disabled, in the early 1960's he

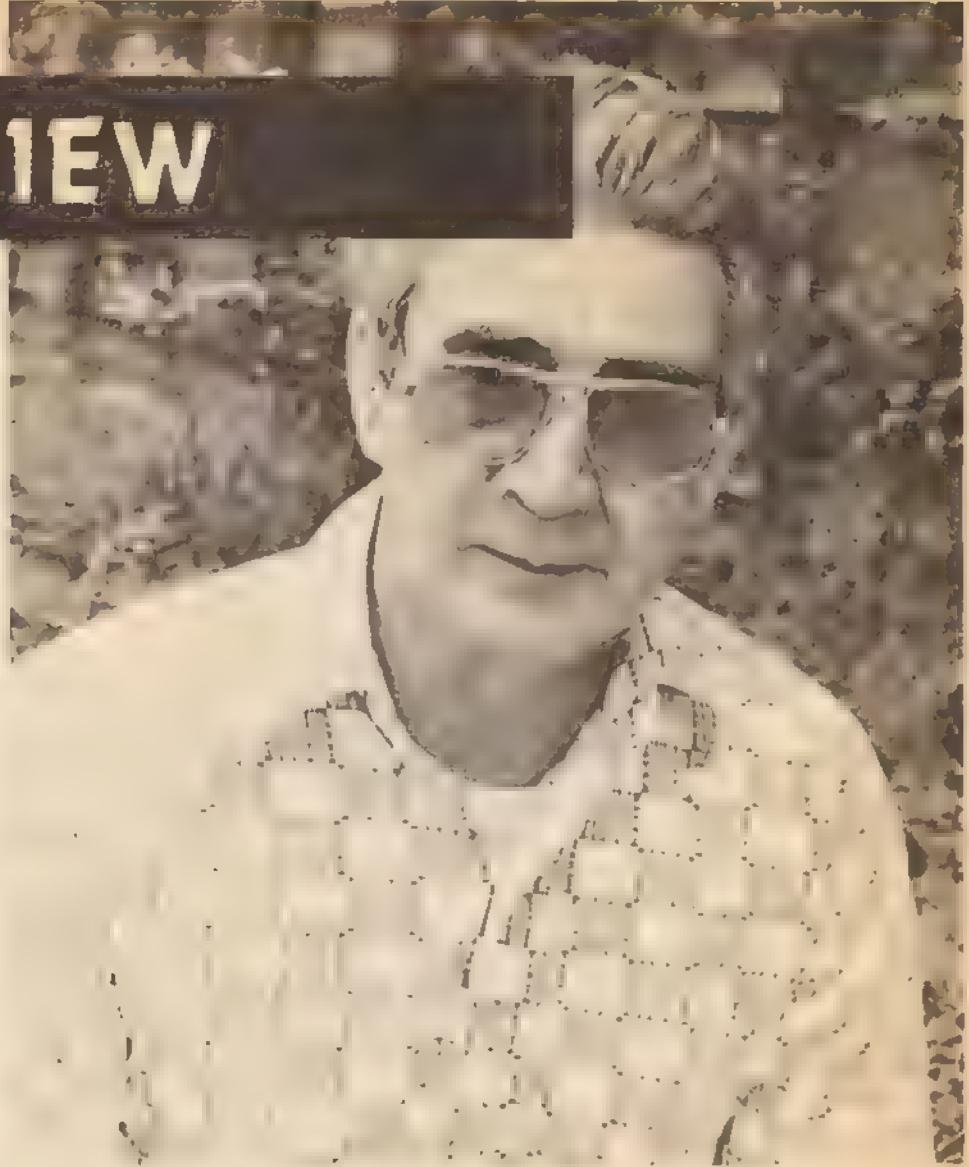
moved with his family to Chicago, where he became involved in the struggle of the Uptown community to survive. He is a founding member of the Uptown Tenants Survival Union and of the Chicago Area Black Lung Association, becoming chairman in 1976.

KEEP STRONG: Mr. Zornes, why was the Chicago Area Black Lung Association organized?

MR. ZORNES: There were a few people, some ex-miners and

some widows of miners who had heard something about black lung benefits. They were on their own and were trying to find out more about it. One of the people had talked to somebody back in Ohio. There was about five of us, and we got to talking amongst ourselves. We got a meeting together.

At the meeting the people talked about the problems they were having. They had written to the Social Security, and Social Security told them they didn't handle black lung claims



anymore. So we got together and started organizing.

After we got down into the cases, we began to seek out things. We didn't know anything about black lung benefits. We didn't know any doctors. We didn't even know what kind of medical examination you had to have or what kind of medical standards you had to meet to qualify for benefits.

We tried to deal with the Social Security office up here. They would tell us first one thing then another, we'd have to have this, and we'd have to have that. Finally we went downtown and picketed the main Social Security office to make them recognize us. Then we called in one of the congressmen to meet with us. We wanted to make him hear the problems right from the people, and some people found out things themselves that they didn't know were happening.

We started organizing and working. We studied the real facts and regulations of black lung benefits. The first thing you know, we started growing more and more, and we came to find out that there were a lot more ex-miners around Chicago than we had realized.

After we organized the Black Lung Association, people started talking to other people they knew who had the problem and bringing them around to meetings. You know, one friend passed it to another, and another one passed it to another that knew somebody down in the coal fields. We had

some widows of miners that got to talking on their own behalf, and the word started getting out.

Q: Has CABLA been effective in winning claims for people?

A: Yes it has. It's won some claims and benefits for people. A lot of cases have had to be re-opened on good cause because claims were being thrown into wastebaskets or whatever for a while. It's really been worthwhile. We fought successfully for a new law from Congress, and that's helped people win some claims.

Q: About how much money has the Black Lung Association been able to win for its members on black lung claims?

A: Well, I figure about a quarter of a million dollars so far. These claims have been won without a lot of pension money being paid out to lawyers to win claims. We've been able to win a lot of claims, and a lot of the miners have

gained their benefits by working directly through the Black Lung Association.

Q: What is in the new black lung law that Congress just passed?

A: It used to be that a widow's claim was dead after three years. A lot of widows never did anything but take care of the home and help raise their families. They never had the knowledge about what happens, and three years after their husbands died they couldn't file a claim anymore. That's changed.

Another thing is we got rid of the "B" readers. That was a real struggle there. Everytime a person was X-rayed, the X-rays would be re-read by a government contracted "B" reader. They didn't know what they were looking for, and they read most of the X-rays as negative. It made it almost impossible for miners to gain their black lung benefits. We got that changed also.



"We started growing and working. We studied the real facts and regulations of black lung benefits... and we came to find out there were a lot more ex-miners around Chicago than we realized."



on staff to deal with black lung claims, and they tried to say that they had publicized the program.

"Murray Brown was trying to overthrow the people. But we were right on top of him."

Q: What other things are there in the new black lung law?

A: You know they were trying to cut the whole program out. They had a cut-off date set in 1981. That's really what I believe was the purpose of the "B" readers and all the confusing letters people used to get. They were trying to keep people confused and keep them on a merry-go-round until 1981. That's why they were really playing games with people, because they were going to get rid of all of it in 1981. So that's another thing we did. We got the 1981 cutoff date done away with, and we got a new program. That was a victory there, too.

Q: What have been some of the main obstacles the Black Lung Association has had to face in representing the interests of miners?

A: I already mentioned all the trouble we got from the Social

Security office. They were really bad. Social Security was telling people that they needed all kinds of evidence to file claims, and it wasn't so. They were just trying to discourage people.

All Social Security had to do was to take in the claim and send it on to the Department of Labor. The claims examiner is supposed to gather the evidence later. One of our members was out there once and they refused to take his claim. He called and asked the organization for support, and we went out there. We threatened to file a suit against Social Security, and they brought out the main superintendent.

After things settled down we talked to him and explained that he had failed the public side. They had failed to get the information about black lung benefits out to the people in Chicago. They tried to say that wasn't true. They tried to tell us that they had trained people

But when we got down into the discussion, they saw that people were coming together, and people knew what they were talking about. They saw that we had organized and studied the law. Now they have two people who come out to our office every week to take claims for black lung benefits. We have our members at the office to make sure all the questions are asked and all the forms get filled out in full.

Q: Could you mention Murray Brown and the obstacles he put in the way of the Black Lung Association. Who was he?

A: Murray Brown was the head of the Board of Health in Chicago. A couple of years ago the members got together and decided that we needed a clinic in Uptown for the community for people to be treated well. We needed doctors that were really concerned and really interested in people and interested in treating respiratory problems. He was over at the Board of Health, and he went to fighting it and he put up a long fight.

He went so far as to say that there weren't any black lung victims in Chicago. We had a meeting with him and the people that supported him in what he was trying to do. He was trying to overthrow the people and what they wanted. But we were right on top of him. We had meetings with the

Department of Occupational Medicine from Cook County Hospital. We went on to struggle and demonstrate. The people felt that they could get what they wanted in spite of him. And so we did win a victory and got the thing set up.

Q: What kind of support has the association received from its members?

A: Well, they have always been open to do whatever they could, raise money, to work together, do outreach work or cooperate in anything. If we have to go across country to a meeting or something, they help get the money together for the trip. They showed up and talked when we were fighting for the clinic and at other times. They've gone to Washington to fight for the new law, and some of them took their own cars. They talked to the congressmen and the senators and they

met with the Department of Labor.

Q: Do you think that there are any lessons that other people might learn from the experience of the Black Lung Association?

A: They could start by trying to locate and see how many other people there are like themselves and form and organize an organization; get in contact with other black lung associations; help the people find out the things they need to know and hand it down to them; help give them good courage to go on.

I think it's necessary that people acknowledge and realize that by organizing and standing together and by looking toward the people and realizing that the pressure is just on the poor people and the struggle is upon the poor people, that it's going to take all those people together to bind this struggle together. How many people would have thought that we would have gained that clinic, the Uptown People's Health Center? Some thought it never would happen. But the people came in there together and organized together and stayed together, and they won it.

In many different things, many different ways people really ought to acknowledge one another as human beings, and that was how the Black Lung Association got together. A few people, five people got to looking towards one another and seeing what one another's problems were. And that's what the people really need to do. They really need to recognize one another and to organize together and see that that's the only way that poor people and working class people can get what they need. I see it as one big family in an organization. □



"They really need to recognize one another and organize one another and see that's the only way that poor people and working class people can get what they need."

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

Senior Citizens Organize & Save Money

(Chicago, Ill.) How do you take the edge off of the rising costs of food? The answer for residents at the Chicago Housing Authority's Clark and Irving buildings has been through a food buying club. The club, sponsored by the Uptown People's Community Service Center, began last October at the

400 unit complex that provides subsidized housing for senior citizens and the handicapped.

It's outrageous, the prices in the stores. You pay it or leave it they don't care. A person on a limited income, like myself, I have to figure twice before I buy something, only things I

need. I don't buy anything fancy — just simple things I need for my health," explains Ruth Kruder, who volunteers her help for a couple of hours a week.

Another volunteer, Don Tuttle says, "This is the way people can beat inflation today, by this kind of community effort. It stretches your check, which is marvelous. That's what the whole thing is about — to make your money reach."



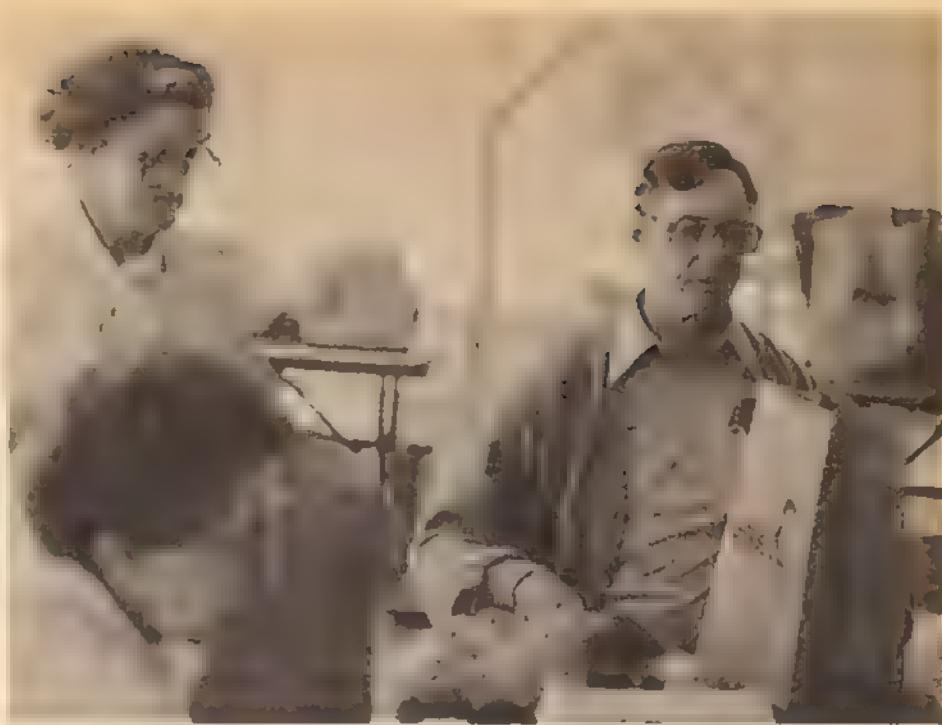
The Food Buying Club's 100 orders each week are handled entirely by volunteers from the building.

Operation of the club is relatively simple. Orders from individual members are collected each week and totaled into one large order. This allows for buying in quantity. Twenty to 25 items are offered each week. Some items are available every week such as eggs, cheese and bread, while others change weekly depending on season and for variety. There is no requirement on how much an individual member must order, nor does a member have to order every week. The club handles around 100 orders each week. Members pick up their groceries on Fridays at the Activities Room.

How much can be saved? "Bananas at the store were 39 cents a pound. We have them here today for 20 cents a pound — 19 cents a pound cheaper," says Don. "Eggs were 89 cents, and ours were 72 cents. Milk is much cheaper here than from the milkman. The milkman runs 10-12 cents higher, maybe more. Even when you don't buy much it adds up."

Don continues, "I think if more of them realized what a good deal it is financially they would take more advantage of it. They think they're only buying seconds of everything. This isn't true. They get it in their heads that if it doesn't come from the A & P, it isn't any good, which is a bunch of bull."

Gertrude Jasinski, 68 says, "They won't sell anything that's bad. She told me when the cucumbers were bad she would



Don Tuttle, volunteer at the food buying club: "People can beat inflation today by this kind of community effort. . . It stretches your check."

not sell them. When they get it in they look at it."

The work each week is done by about 10 volunteers from Clark and Irving with help from Karen Sandler of the UPCSC, "to do the heavy lifting." A number of the volunteers work even though confined to wheelchairs.

There are other advantages to the club, also. "This is a very good set-up for people who live here who aren't able to go shopping at the stores for themselves. I think it's a blessing for those people. It's been good for me," says Mrs. Kruder, "because I haven't been able to do much of my own shopping. I've had to pay this one and that one. It's been a problem all during the winter."

"It has been wonderful during January and February," explains Don, "when you could

not get out, and the stores wouldn't deliver because they couldn't get in. If it hadn't been for that, well, we might have been out of things."

One member, Alice Ohlerich, believes, "It's the most convenient thing we've had here because we have no stores around here unless we walk four or five blocks or take a bus or cab. Sometimes it takes six hours to go back and forth to the store."

What does it take to get started? "Just a desire to want it and people who get along with each other. You can't go someplace where everybody hates each other, because it's a co-operative thing," says Don. He continues, "It was chaos at first. You know, it has to be organized. Our club is now. We know what our jobs are and just come in and do them. It's pretty simple now." □

LABOR

“SWEETHEART”

Employees Drive Company Union From Gold Standard Liquors

‘The Binstins’ million dollar liquor business could not afford a legitimate union. So they made payoffs on a ‘sweetheart’ contract for 20 years.’

(Chicago, Ill.) For 25 years Harold and Seymour Binstein have been selling liquor to Chicagoans. The Binstins opened their first store on Clark and Sheffield. The store was a fraction the size of their present operation, but the trade was steady, the cash quick and the profit regular. With the profits, the Binstins began to expand. Within a few years they had half a dozen stores, and by 1975 they were selling liquor from ten locations, employing 150 people and grossing more than a million dollars a year.

In 1966, Mary Smith went to work for Gold Standard. “Thir-

teen years ago I started to work at Gold Standard on Broadway. At that time it was the main office for Harold Binstein, Seymour Binstein and Bernie Greenfield, the main owners. I remained there for nine years. During that time as a cashier I also had access to the office and incoming mail.

“Every few months some cards would come in the mail from the union, which was Local 162 at the time. The cards were addressed to Harold Binstein, Seymour Binstein, Bernie Greenfield, Lou Ostro, a manager, and a lady named Edler, who was Harold’s personal secretary.

“Once when I was trying to give the manager his card I got into a discussion with him. I tried to hand him the card because it seemed important to me. He looked right at me and said, ‘Throw it in the garbage.’ I asked him if we had a union, and he said, ‘No.’ I said, ‘What’s going on? This card is talking about a union that’s having a party and a raffle.’

“He looked at me again and said, ‘There is no party, there is no raffle, there is no union. Now please throw the card in the garbage.’ When I tried to question him, he got irritated and said, ‘You know you’re just a dumb Irishman. There is no

union. This is a front. It's a sweetheart.'

"I asked him what he meant, and he told me, 'A sweetheart is a phony union. It's a mafia — to keep out legitimate unions. The owners pay for it themselves, and they have to have so many in there to cover up, but you can't get in.' When I asked him who paid the union dues, he told me, 'Not one of us pays. The owners pay. Do you understand? We don't get anything out of this. You get zero.'

Ten years later in May 1976, Mary was still working for Gold Standard. For her years of loyal service and her 40 hours a week she received \$3.25 an hour.

"In 1976, there was a girl, Billie Van Buren, who got interested in forming a union. She worked at the Fullerton Wine and Cheese Chalet. She was good friends with one of the managers there. She had no contacts at any other stores and he gave her my name and number.

"I was working at the Ridge store at the time, but I knew a lot of people in the other stores. Billie and I met, and I told her about the sweetheart agreement. I said, 'Look, they're not going to just let us stop them. They'll get rid of you and me.' But we figured we had enough support from the other people, and we had nothing to lose. We'd been making the same money for years. You never could get a raise out of them. They would say, 'We're not giving raises this month, maybe in a few months.'

"So we figured we would give it a try, and we got in contact with the Retail Clerks Union. First, we called labor relations and asked them which was the most honest, and they recommended Retail Clerks. We got a lot of the employees together at somebody's house. The guys from the union came to the meetings. Things were going real good.

"A woman named Helen

Alcantra started to get active in the union drive. She was not involved when we first started meeting. She didn't even know it was going on. But when she got into it, she got into it heavy. She started making some calls and asking about the union contract with Local 162. We figured out that Carl Champagne was somebody important when she couldn't get any answers, and the union office kept telling her that she had to



"By 1975 the Binstiens were selling liquor from 10 locations and grossing more than a million dollars a year."

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talk to Mr. Champagne. Then she started calling Carl Champagne. Finally she got a hold of him, and she demanded to see the union's contract. She even went out there to the office on Ashland to see it. But she got thrown out.

"It was right after that, that Herman Sonnenblum, her manager, pulled her aside one day and said, 'Hey, no more calls to the union!' Helen answered, 'Oh, he's supposed to be out here tomorrow with a copy of the contract.' And Sonnenblum said, 'He's not coming tomorrow or any other day, and you better lay off! Don't you know what you're dealing with? You're dealing with the Mafia!'

"Helen was a little shocked. She said, 'You mean I've been employed all these years, and Gold Standard is controlled by the mafia?' Sonnenblum clarified himself, 'I didn't say controlled, but it's what you are dealing with now. You don't want to get hurt, do you?' Helen was fired shortly after that."

The mysterious union that no one seemed to know about stalled the organizing drive temporarily. The retail clerks decided not to get involved when they were told that Gold Standard employees already had a union. The organizers, on the inside, brought an unfair labor practice case to the National Labor Relations Board.

Jerry Gesiakowski of the Retail Clerks Union recently explained, "I wasn't working with it at the time, but I understand that we checked around after the employees contacted us. We got a call from Local 162 of the Distillery Workers. They said they had a contract with the company. We took them at their word. We had no information that was different. But we did ask them to send us a copy of their contract which they never did."

"Don't you know what you're dealing with? You are dealing with the Mafia!"

Mary Smith said, "We brought charges against the Binstains to the National Labor Relations Board. The first decision, from the hearing in Chicago, was not good. It went against us. So we took it to Washington. That one came back in our favor. That was May 10, 1978."

On May 10, 1978 the National Labor Relations Board ordered Gold Standard to rehire Helen Alcantra and pay her all the wages she had missed in the months since her firing. They were further ordered to refrain from interfering with or harassing workers who were trying to organize a union. They were ordered to place a notice to that effect in a public place in each store.

Mary Smith goes on, "Once that decision came back, I had someone call the retail clerks for me and give my name and

ask them to contact me. They got hold of me on June 2. We were being very careful about not using company time to organize, so they wouldn't be able to use that against us later. Curtis Thompson was the transporter. He carried liquor to the different stores. He made out invitations for people from all the stores, and he was getting them around for us. On June 11 we had our first meeting with the retail clerks.

I went on vacation the last part of June. People in the other stores would always let me know what was going on. July 5 was my first day back to work. A friend told me about a meeting the Binstains had at the Skokie store with all the managers the previous Monday. They knew who was in the middle of the organizing drive, and they wanted to get rid of us. I knew something was going to happen.

"Late in the morning Audie Davidson, assistant manager of the Ridge store, took a call from Harold Binstein. A few minutes later he was telling me that the union was coming over, and we were supposed to sign the union cards. I told Audie that they couldn't have been coming to talk to me because I never heard of them. Audie said, 'You know they know about the Retail Clerks, and they're not going to just stand by.'

"It was twelve o'clock, and we went to lunch. When we got to the restaurant, we called the union and told them what was happening. We got back to the store at 1:15. Ralph Fisher, the

manager, was there. He told us there were three gentlemen waiting in the back that wanted to speak to us.

"They were working on three of our people when we walked into the back room. They said that they were our union and had been for years. We owed them a lot of money for back dues from many years, and they were there to collect. But if we just signed the cards everything would be all right. If we wanted to continue to work there we had better sign the cards, or we didn't need to bother to punch in or out.

"We asked them to produce a contract. They had no contract to produce. I pointed to the notice from the Labor Relations Board on the wall. Stratton, he was the one doing most of the talking, looked at it and said, 'That's nothing. We settled that in January. It's garbage. Our paper should be up there.'

"Stratton did all the talking for them. He kept telling me to sign the card, and I kept refusing. Finally he told me I was fired. I told him he couldn't fire me. I said, 'You go out there and get the manager, and when he tells me I'm fired, then I'll believe it.'

"Stratton went out, and Ralph came back in yelling 'What's going on? The front is full of customers, and all my help is in the back!' I told him that the men were harassing us, that they were trying to force us to sign union cards, and they couldn't produce a contract.

"I gave them the opportunity to get the contracts. There should have been copies at the store in Skokie. I told the men that we would wait while they went to get them, but they refused. And I told Ralph that

"You are to do what the union tells you to do. They are your negotiators. And if you do not sign then you no longer work for Gold Standard."

Stratton said we were fired if we didn't sign.

"Ralph started screaming, 'I don't know anything about this.' Then he went to call Harold Binstein, and Stratton went with him.

"When Ralph came back, I asked him what Binstein had said. He looked at me and said, 'You are to do what the union tells you to do. They are your negotiators. And if you do not sign then you no longer work for Gold Standard.'

"In the meantime, we got a call from the Retail Clerks Union. I explained what was happening, and they told me they would call right back.

They called back in a few minutes. It was Russell Vogue, and he said to tell them to get screwed.

"After I hung up the phone Stratton came over and asked me what they had said. I told him to get screwed. He started laughing, then they all walked out and began to hit the other nine stores. Four of us were fired that day. Four the first day, then ones and twos after that. People were also fired from the other stores by Carl Champagne. He came around without the others on different days. At least one employee was attacked by Champagne in the Waukegan store."

Of the 82 employees who signed union cards in the days that followed, 78 wrote above their signature that they were signing under duress. With a mandate of support from the majority of employees, the organizers turned again to the National Labor Relations Board to compel the Binstins to let the workers choose their own representatives.

Robert Bates, counsel for Region 13 of the NLRB, represented the Gold Standard employees in the 1976 dispute and again in the trial this past March.

"We went to trial this time on two separate cases. There are alleged violations of the unfair labor practices law against both Gold Standard and Local 3 (formerly Local 162) of the Distillery Workers. Technically, the court has to resolve

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those charges before deciding whether the workers can choose a representative of their own.

"The law says it is illegal for an employer to assist or dominate a union. This is the crux of the case we have against Gold Standard." The complaint itself cites 36 different incidents involving Harold Binstein, his managers, Champagnes and Stratton, trampling on the rights and dignity of Gold Standard employees. They range from one store manager soliciting an employee to sign a union membership card application, to threatening bodily harm, to assault, to discharging employees for refusing to sign up with Local 3.

In all, the complaint lists five separate counts of "engaging in unfair labor practices" against Gold Standard and Local 3. Jerry Gesiakowski of the Retail Clerks Union commented after helping the employees prepare for the NLRB hearing, "We presented over 80 witnesses. They testified that they never heard of Local 3 until early in July 1978. Many of these people had worked there for years and years. We offered affidavits from employees stating that they had never paid any dues or gotten any benefits from the union."

Local 3's defense to the charges was surprising. Bates explained, "We were on trial for nine days. Their attorney was there on the first day and

the last day. They never heard any of our testimony, they never cross-examined any of our witnesses, they never produced any witnesses of their own." Asked if this was not

States district attorney and a federal grand jury were looking into the relationship of the union to the liquor chain. The Landrum-Griffin Act specifically prohibits direct payments from company funds to union treasuries. According to the affidavit that Local 3 produced in court, such a relationship had been in effect for 25 years.

Carl Champagne is the son of Dr. Carl Cham- pagne, physician to Chicago mob- sters, Paul (the Waiter) Ricca and Anthony Phillip Tisci.

irregular, considering that Local 3 was facing serious charges, Bates answered sarcastically, "I don't think it is a legal tactic that I would employ if that's what you mean."

The only thing that closely resembled evidence presented by Gold Standard or Local 3 was a notarized affidavit from Harold Binstein stating that he had been negotiating with Local 3 as the representative for Gold Standard employees for 25 years. They also offered half a dozen contracts which were dated before January 1978, the date of the supposed merger between Local 3 and Local 162.

Before the hearing started, word was out that a United

KEEP STRONG's efforts to reach Howard Hansen, president of Local 3, were unsuccessful. Each time we called we were told that Mr. Hansen was gone for the day, the week or the month. William Stratton, business representative for the local, had "no comment" when asked about the case. Harold Binstein also had "no comment" and referred us to his attorney.

Investigators for KEEP STRONG were sent to union headquarters to speak to Mr. Stratton. They asked to see a copy of the unions's contract and were told that it was at the printer and would be back in about a week.

The story of Carl Champagne is a little fuller. He now works for Teamster Local 714 which represents scrapyard, warehouse and trade show workers. But a check deeper into his background revealed that he is the son of Dr. Carl J. Champagne. Dr. Carl Champagne has been the physician for noted Chicago mobsters including Paul (the Waiter) Ricca and Anthony Phillip Tisci. The elder Champagne's brother, Anthony V., has been an attorney for several prominent Chicago gangland figures. □

LABOR

Alice Peruala Elected President of USW Local 65

(South Chicago) For at least 20 years until 1965, Local 65, the 8,500 member United Steel Workers local at United States Steel Corporations South Works, was under the thumb of the Abel organization. I.W. Abel was longtime president of the international union and to many, too good a friend of the steel industry. In 1976 Abel was succeeded by his hand-picked prodigy, Lloyd McBride, in the union presidency. In that same year, an insurgent slate led by John Chico won the election, maintaining their 11 year leadership of the large and powerful local.

Also that year Alice Peruala,

who was supporting Chico for presidency of local 65 and Ed Sadlowski, a former local 65 president himself in his bid for the international presidency, was elected to the grievance committee.

For Peruala, who had worked at the South Works plant since the early 1950's, her first election victory was neither the beginning nor the end of her active role in the union. She was hired by U.S. Steel as a metallurgical process observer in 1953 and told that the company had "success with women staying on that particular job."

Looking back Peruala says, "I certainly found out after 15 years why the women stayed. They stayed because they had no other place to go. There were no promotion opportunities...it really made me angry that the guys I trained were being promoted, and I was told I wasn't qualified."

In 1967 she filed a federal sex

discrimination suit against the nation's number one producer of steel and won an out of court settlement. After that she was into union politics and stayed with the Sadlowski forces in their 11 year drive that came within a few thousand votes of ousting the union's old line, established leadership.

In April of this year Peruala surprised former ally Chico and a lot of other people when she beat Chico and Donald Stazak, the McBride man, and was elected president of the local.

Her platform remains the same as it was during the campaign. "Safety and health are big issues out here. So are scheduling, forced overtime, conditions in the parking lot, washrooms and shower rooms." She's just as clear as to who she's working for. "I've always been in favor of women's rights. But I ran as a steel worker, to represent steel workers. I'll fight hard for women's rights, but I'll fight just as hard for the rights of all workers." □

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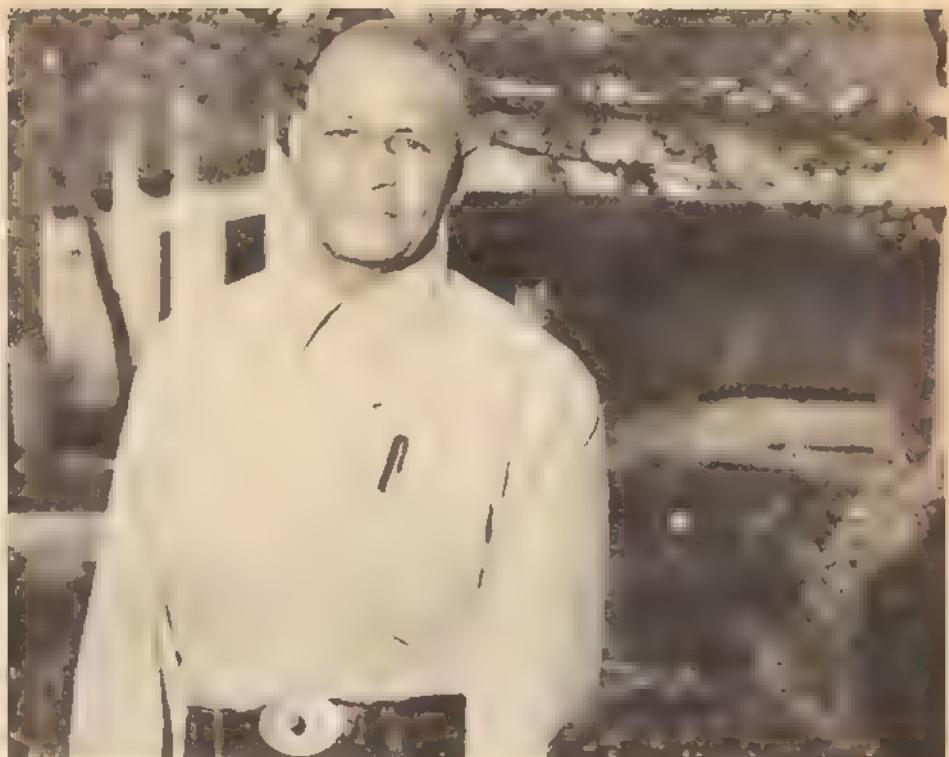
BEHIND THE FACES

Luther “Bill” Bailey

For almost 40 years, Luther Bailey has worked for the railroad. In that time he has traveled the length of the United States many times and met and served tens of thousands of passengers.

“My name is Luther ‘Bill’ Bailey. I was born in 1914 in Mississippi, native of Jackson, Mississippi, in a rural place called Cynthia, Mississippi. That’s where I was born, and all my little schooling I got there, which was second to nothing.

“I lived in that area until I was about 27 years old. I had a job as a recapper for auto tires. I had gotten sick for about six weeks, and the two dozen tires that I was responsible for



stayed undone ’til I got back to the job. When I got back I got them tires out, and after I put them in a ‘drier,’ I told the man who they belonged to that in about three days he could come pick his tires up. Afterwards, I asked the foreman for a raise. He said he couldn’t give me one. So I said ‘I’ll tell you what I’m going to do. I’ll give you a two weeks notice, and I’m going to go out and get me another job.’ That’s when I got with the Pullman Company, in 1942. I’ve been there ever since. That’s the second job I had had since I started working.

“I was 27 years old then. I came up here with the job. I was hired in Mississippi and then sent to Chicago for train-

ing. After the training period, some stayed in Chicago working out of here, and some went to the Twin Cities, Minneapolis-St. Paul. There was 30 of us who started together, only two are still around. The other has already retired, and I’m retiring in December of this year.

“Back 37 years ago when we were trained we were instructed to know those cars from inside to the top — the mechanics of it all. Any mechanical improvements that were ever made in those cars were due to the suggestions from the porters who had to live in them all during their working hours. It was done through a survey of asking the passengers what they wanted and asking us how to improve

the accomodations. But the people's opinion is what's important. When the paying passengers tell you what they want, then you give it to them. If they want fancy things, give it to them. They're paying for it; nobody's riding out there for nothing.

"For the Pullman Company, it was the passenger that was important. As a porter you can get in more trouble by misusing a passenger. They would fire you for that. Most workers didn't know that. If a person

wasn't pleased they would write you up, give you so many days on the ground for insubordination, that is, having words with the people. They were most concerned about their paying passenger.

"Back in the early 40's, right about the time I got hired, the union started representing the porters. The union trained A. Phillip Randolph and Milton Webster to organize. They're the ones that formed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It took a long time to

get the union through, but they got it through. At that time Webster had been working for the Pullman Co., and they had fired him. So he wanted to work to get a union in there for some protection.

"The workers met in different places and got enough men signed up, got them a working agreement with the Pullman Co. and turned it into a contract. From there on they handled the negotiations with Pullman Co. until Pullman pulled out of the sleeping car



Early meeting of officers and members of the International Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "Back in the early 1940's, right about the time I got hired, the union started representing the porters. The union trained A. Phillip Randolph and Milton Webster to organize. They're the ones that formed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters."

BEHIND THE FACES

business. On January 1, 1980 Pullman will be out of passenger car manufacturing, but will continue to make freight cars.

"At the time I joined there was no closed shop. You joined at free will. It's quite an experience to work with someone who didn't pay dues. The way to find out who wasn't in the union was we'd sit down to have dinner and showed our paid-up cards, and if someone didn't have one we knew where he was. That's where we found out who was a member. If he had a membership card he was 100 percent. If he didn't have one, we had to work with that brother. And so, finally, the man did belong to the union. In 1964 the closed shop was brought in which meant that if you worked for 90 days, you had to join the union. If you

didn't want to, then you didn't have a job.

"The ones that make the union are the ones that attend the meetings. Those that don't, you can't call them union men. He only belongs because he's forced to. The union man is always at the meetings and helps regulate the problems between the company and the union. You have some that are 100 percent with their obligation to their union duties. But the others are scabs, because they're living off one who's protecting his rights. That's why they call them scabs.

"Back in 1958 and into the early 60's I was an organizer and representative for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. There were attempts at that time to get different unions on the line. And so my job was to try to get workers of a line, say the Santa Fe, to sign cards for our union rather than another union. If you don't get the votes in the other union gets in. As an organizer that's what you got to do. You've got to be a good vote getter. And we did get the vote in.

"Today the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters represents almost every railroad in the country. And they started out with the Pullman porters.

"Right now I'm working with Amtrak on the sleeping cars. I work on the road four days, then have a seven day layover in Chicago. But on those four days I am working the entire time except for six or seven hours at the turn-around point.

I never go to bed until the trip is over. The people are my obligation.

"And this is part of Amtrak's problems. People, lots of times, are being misused from the beginning. They have problems now because so many of the men don't treat people the way they should. But we have to deal with the people for the entire trip, so when you know what you're faced with, you have to have respect for the people. It's knowing how to handle the public, and you got to be a diplomat. It falls upon the porter to know how to handle people, a way to approach them. You have to deal with situations that takes a lot of diplomacy. And if a person asks a question, don't just tell them that you don't know — find out the answer.

"I know that people respect me and trust me. And it comes from my caring about the welfare of that person. I feel wonderful. I always look forward, but in looking back I know I did some good. Last week on a trip a little kid said, 'Momma, there's Luther Baily.' And she said, 'Oh, it sure is. It's been four years since we went to Seattle with you' — four years, and they still know me.

"People know me from here to the coast. They appreciate the things that I did. Like I said, you have to forget about yourself; let those people enjoy themselves, be happy. You put out good things, you'll get good. You put out badness, you'll get that. That's life." □



COMMUNITY FOCUS

Removing The Knife – Westtown Residents Organize

(Chicago, Ill.) It has been said that urban planners look at communities like meat cutters look at meat. They have no interest in the meat itself. Their only job is to cut it up to be sold at the best price. The buyers of the meat, in the case of many Chicago neighborhoods the urban investors and developers, determine the ultimate destiny of the meat—how it will be cooked or in this case, for whom and what it will be developed.

Ten minutes west of Clark and Division, where Arthur Rubloff used federal dollars to build Sandburg Village in his own image, is Westtown or the southern boundary of it.

In that community resistance has been growing, involving many people and many organizations. One of the organizations working with the people of the community to remove the knife is the Westtown Concerned Citizens Committee.

The area is also called East Humboldt Park. Reverend Jorge Morales has no difficulty describing the problems that have been created in the community. "The borders of this community are Division and North Avenue, Western and California. This is the heart of the Puerto Rican community. We have a big problem with housing here. You remember there was a lot of publicity

about arson around here a couple of years ago. Well, a lot of community groups responded the wrong way. They started putting a lot of buildings in building court and getting them torn down.

"Our study of the area, with help from Northwestern University, shows that 42.6 percent of the housing in this area has been destroyed from 1971 to February 1978. St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital destroyed three blocks of housing to build a parking lot. St. Elizabeth Hospital did the same thing and so did Norwegian American."

The group has been working to produce a number of weapons that will enable the community to turn the pattern of destruction around. A thorough study of the banks was done to determine how much of the



Reverend Morales : "Our study of the area shows that 42.6 percent of the housing was destroyed between 1971 and February 1978."

COMMUNITY FOCUS



The coalition of community groups that met with the mayor forced her to retract her statement that Chicago police would pick up undocumented workers.

money they controlled was being invested in the East Humboldt Park community. Those banks that were light were brought to the table. One bank, Pioneer Savings, has already made a commitment to participate in a low interest loan program freeing cash for the rehabilitation of substandard and boarded up homes in the area.

The organization, through its affiliate, Check, Inc., is negotiating with the Department of Housing and Urban Development for title to the 18 buildings in the area that HUD controls.

The struggle to realize these goals is long and tedious, because the federal and city agencies involved are run on the oil of bureaucracy. But the concept is simple: get the buildings, get the money to fix up the buildings and hire and train people from the commu-

nity to do the work, which begins to work on the other great problem in the community—unemployment.

But bureaucracy is not the only problem. Politics has an equal, if not greater voice.

"We have no political representation," Morales points out. "Just look at the distribution of city jobs. We feel that Latinos are between 18 and 23 percent of the population of the city. But only 2.6 percent of the city jobs are held by Latinos. We filed a legal complaint against the city citing it for discrimination. We're holding up \$95 million in revenue sharing from the city. The fact is that the patronage system does not make public jobs available to the Latino community." The other side of this, Morales goes on, is that, "this community has always been excluded from federal programs."

On April 23, members of the Westtown Coalition, along with 38 other groups from the Latino community, met with the new mayor to discuss three issues. The need for the city to develop an affirmative action program for the Latino community was explained for the benefit of the mayor and her staff. The city's community development program, and the closed door process through which it has been put together, was roundly criticized. The groups demanded recognition for their own hearings and findings. Finally, the mayor was asked to retract the policy statements she had made regarding the use of Chicago police in dealing with undocumented Latinos.

Reverend Morales explained, "We are tired of them blaming unemployment on undocumented workers. They are moving jobs out of here to places where they can make the stuff cheaper. If they can make it cheaper overseas, then they move overseas. The problem of how undocumented workers are treated here is the problem of all Latinos. You think these agents can tell the difference between a Mexican, a Puerto Rican or a Guatemalan? We have plenty of cases of Puerto Ricans being picked up and shipped to Mexico. She (Jane Byrne) was talking about using the Chicago police to police undocumenteds. We don't feel that that is the job of the Chicago police. We asked her to retract what she had said, and she did."

The groups meet regularly to follow up and evaluate the

results of the discussion with Byrne. The success of the organization in keeping the community in tact does not rest, however, with the results of a single meeting with the mayor.

In fact, while the mayor has said that she will not respond to "confrontation politics," many observers believe that the April 23 meeting resulted, at least in part, from the massive Latino demonstration at her headquarters shortly after her February 27 primary victory.

That was not the first time the citizens of Westtown marched on the system. A year ago the group focused the community's anger on the U.S. Post Office in Chicago and its failure to implement affirm-

tive action. Morales recounts the struggle; "The register (the list of qualified applicants) was only seven percent Latino. Only one percent of the actual employees were Latino.

"They weren't having enough workshops to prepare people for the test, and the workshops they had weren't bilingual. We picketed them when they wouldn't talk with us. Then they started talking.

At the time, the post office and the press tried to paint the struggle as a problem of Latinos and Blacks fighting for the same jobs. But Carlos Quintanilla of the Westtown Coalition emphasized at the time, "We are challenging the affirmative action plan which is not being complied with. The

issue is jobs for Latinos. It's not just Latinos that are unemployed. Blacks are faced with the same problem. A few weeks ago they made a commitment to bring the register up to 14 percent Latino. Now, we have taken the heat off the post office for a while."

The coalition is trying to get the city to sponsor 100 jobs for the rehabilitation of a dozen or more buildings in the community. Reverend Morales is excited as he underscores the importance of the struggle; "If we can put these things together, we could have a meaningful housing program in East Humboldt Park. We have been moved all over the city. Our only hope is to stabilize here. We need to plant roots and make it work." □

EDUCATION

Chicago's Schools Lose \$15 Million

(Chicago, Ill.) In mid-April, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) issued a report based on a three year investigation of Chicago's school system. Contrary to claims by school board officials that segregation in Chicago is a result of housing patterns, the report's conclusion was that segregation in Chicago's schools is the result

of specific, official actions taken by the city's Board of Education over the last 35 years.

While School Superintendent Joseph Hannon vehemently denied the charges, four members of Jane Byrne's transition team and alderman Clifford Kelley (in separate actions) cried for immediate action, including (in one public demand) the firing of Hannon. In early May, Hannon and members of his staff appeared at hearings in Washington, D.C. to defend Chicago's desegregation efforts. On May 7, still insisting that



Hannon traveled to Washington to defend Chicago's desegregation efforts.

EDUCATION

Chicago's school system is not illegally segregated, Hannon submitted a written response to the federal charges, making Chicago ineligible to receive \$15 million of federal desegregation funds.

"In summary," the report states, "Chicago school officials have intentionally created and



The HEW report charges school officials with 'intentionally creating and maintaining a racially discriminatory dual school system.'

maintained a racially discriminatory dual school system. In response to expanding minority school populations, increasingly overcrowded black schools, and nearby under-utilized white schools, school officials took numerous actions and failed to take many other feasible actions, all of which contributed to creating and maintaining the racial segregation of the district's school children."

Two examples included in the HEW report demonstrate clearly school board policy. One refers to the school boundaries on Chicago's near north side, the other in Hyde Park.

On the near north side where the Cabrini Green housing project was opened by the Chicago Housing Authority in the early 1950's, an 18 classroom addition was built onto Jenner Elementary School in 1954. Another addition was built in 1958. In the 1958-59 school year, Jenner School consisted of 75 permanent classrooms with an enrollment of 3,282 Black students. In the same school year, according to the report, 429 seventh and eighth graders were reassigned to a branch in the building that is now Cooley Upper Grade Center.

"The superintendent observed that the 'combined total membership of 3,711 students exceeds the highest total membership of any other Chicago elementary school by approximately 650 pupils and is much too large for the most desirable education program of an elementary school.'"

At the same time, enrollments at "predominantly white Headley and Thomas schools, about two miles north of Jenner, had decreased to such an extent that they were combined into a single administrative unit." No effort was made to transfer students from the obviously overcrowded Jenner to either of these northern schools.

In addition, in 1961, there were three empty classrooms in the predominantly White Ogden School located less than a mile east of Jenner. In that year the board made a boundary adjustment between the attendance areas for Franklin and Ogden schools. Jenner was not included in this boundary change. The overall effect of the change was that most of the White students who had attended the predominantly Black Franklin School were now to attend Ogden.

A similar situation was cited by the report with regards to Hyde Park in the mid-1960's. In summary, there was severe overcrowding in the high schools in the area. A series of suggestions from a coalition of community and civil rights groups was rejected by the Board of Education. The final outcome was the construction of Kenwood High School which split the student population between the new school and the old Hyde Park High School. The results? "In 1968, Kenwood High School enrolled 270 of the 279 White secondary students in the administrative district. Hyde Park, on the other hand, was 98.2 percent Black." □

FIGHTING CITY HALL

Heart Of Uptown Challenges The City

(Chicago, Ill.) In late April of this year, the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition appealed to newly elected Chicago mayor Jane Byrne to back up her campaign promise of "Neighborhoods First" by taking some concrete action on behalf of the current residents of the Uptown area.

In an open letter to Ms. Byrne, the Coalition stated: "We in the Heart of Uptown area are not asking for a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow. We are asking for our share of simple justice at the end of an urban renewal trail of tears. Our residents are the victims of different forms of urban renewal on the north, west and south sides of Chicago, in Kentucky, West Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Mexico, Puerto Rico and the reservations of Wisconsin. More specifically our residents are victims of policies on the part of the city and certain private developers to destroy integrated neighborhoods in the Clark Street area where Carl Sandburg Village now stands, in Lincoln Park and now again in Uptown.

"Our community, where land is like gold because it is so close to the lakefront, has been beset by every kind of outside real

estate speculator and slumlord. It has been ignored by the city in terms of services at the same time that the city has offered its full cooperation to outside speculators who would rape and rampage for profit.

"The Heart of Uptown should be declared a community development disaster area. While deterioration, lack of attention, uncontrolled real estate speculation and the failure to utilize community participation in developing use for federal community development and economic development funds attack almost every neighborhood in the city, the fact is that the community of people who now make up the Heart of Uptown will once again be

moved out if emergency steps are not taken."

On April 24, 1979, the city issued its draft proposal for community development in the Uptown area. According to this plan, it will take 75 years or until the year 2054 to improve most of the housing in the designated Uptown neighborhood strategy area. The proposed city program, which covers the area bounded by Foster Avenue on the north, Clark Street on the west, Irving Park Road on the south and Marine Drive on the east, will concentrate its rehabilitation of housing efforts as part of the first three year plan on the 4600 and 4700 blocks of N. Kenmore Avenue. It will take 75 years to make the necessary improvements on all 25 blocks in this area which desperately need rehabilitative efforts.



In its letter to Mayor Byrne the Block Club Coalition emphasized, "We are asking our share of simple justice at the end of an urban renewal trail of tears."

FIGHTING CITY HALL

A general review of the overall draft proposal reveals that of the 60 programs which are slated for funding, only two directly deal with housing and none with the creation of jobs. At the same time three of the programs have to do with the construction of city buildings, three with the repair of city buildings, six are for counseling, three for overall coordination, and seven are intended to assist commercial enterprises.

Members of the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition have stated, "What's wrong with the city's draft proposal is that its priorities are backwards. The plan does not take into consideration the emergency housing crisis that the

people in this community face. The city has adopted a long range strategy when emergency action is needed."

In January of this year the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition submitted to the city a comprehensive development plan for the Uptown area. This three year plan called for the construction of about 200 units of new housing, with the construction work to be done by community residents.

This proposal was developed at the grassroots level in a series of block meetings and neighborhood forums.

Its priorities were clearly housing, jobs and the development of youth programs. Perhaps more importantly, the proposal's emphasis was on the development of a broad-based neighborhood development cen-

ter where area residents would come together to maintain a direct role in determining how community development funds would be spent in the area.

In summary, Helen Shiller, spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition, has stated, "If the city of Chicago and its new mayor are serious about improving the neighborhoods for the people who now live in them, its community development plan must involve the people of those communities directly, and they must attempt to deal with the stated priorities of the current community residents.

"We in the Heart of Uptown are an organized community ready to do more than our part in making the Heart of Uptown a stable neighborhood developed for the people who live here now." □

New Trial Ordered In Hampton Murder

(Chicago, Ill.) A federal appeals court has reinstated the \$47 million lawsuit against former States Attorney Hanrahan, four federal defendants employed by the FBI (including then FBI head Marlin Johnson) and others who planned and conducted a pre-dawn raid on December 4, 1969 in which Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed.

The civil suit, filed on behalf of the families of Fred Hampton

and Mark Clark and survivors of the raid, originally began trial on January 5, 1976. On April 15, 1977 Judge Joseph Sam Perry dismissed charges against 21 of the original 28 defendants. On April 24, Perry directed verdicts of innocence for the remaining defendants and excused the jury.

In a split decision on April 3, 1979 the three-judge panel said that Judge Perry erred in this and ordered the case returned to the federal district court



Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, murdered in a pre-dawn raid — December 4, 1969.

here for a new trial to be held before a different judge. Although the court upheld dismissal of charges against four defendants and a portion of the original charges against two others, Hanrahan, the police involved in the raid and the four federal defendants, including Marlin Johnson and informant William O'Neal, were reinstated as defendants.

During the trial, which has become the longest in federal history, lawyers for the plaintiffs presented evidence to show that the fatal December 4 raid was the result of a conspiracy between the FBI, States Attorney Edward Hanrahan and other public officials assigned to both the States Attorney's office and the Chicago Police Department. The death of Fred Hampton, they said, was a conscious part and deliberate outcome of the conspiracy.

The court said that probable evidence was presented in the 18 month trial to suggest that a conspiracy existed and that, therefore, this evidence would have been weighed by a jury for their determination and not by the judge.

The court threw out contempt citations against two of the plaintiffs' attorneys and ordered returned the \$100 thousand appeal bond that Perry required the plaintiffs to pay. They also ordered the fees for filing the appeal to be awarded to plaintiffs' attorneys.

During the trial Sergeant Groth, a leading police officer in the raid, had refused to give the



Above — Fred Hampton's body being carried from the scene of the raid. The appellate court ruled that evidence presented suggested a conspiracy existed to kill Hampton.

name of the person he claimed to be his informant, providing information that was the basis for the search warrant used on the morning of the raid. Judge Perry did not order Groth to reveal his informant's identity in spite of the assertion by plaintiff attorneys that Groth lied. Therefore, they claimed the search warrant was received on the basis of testimony from the FBI's paid informant O'Neal, or it was received under false pretenses and was, therefore, not a legal document. In either case the information would have great import for a jury charged with the duty of determining a conspiracy in the case.

The appeals court ruled that Groth must disclose the name of his informant when the case is retried.

In addition, the court said that the federal defendants, Johnson, Piper and Mitchell, and their counsel "deliberately

impeded discovery and actively obstructed the judicial process, thus denying plaintiffs the fair trial to which they were entitled... Moreover, sanctions should be imposed... against federal defendants and counsel representing them at the first trial for repeatedly disobeying court orders to produce documentary material."

In response to hearing the federal appeals court ruling, Fred Hampton's brother Bill said, "We have always felt we were in the right. We were convinced the evidence was overwhelmingly in our favor and that the first judgement was unfair. Even if it takes a long time, justice will prevail."

Meanwhile, according to the Chicago Tribune, the Cook County Attorney's office has advised George Dunne, president of the Cook County Board, to seek a review by all eight judges of the U.S. Court of Appeals. □

CHICAGO VIEWS

Control Of Development — The Critical Question For Communities

HELEN SHILLER



Last week I was interviewed by one of the network television stations as part of their FTC licensing process. The questions they ask are usually the same. So I had been thinking about what issues I wanted to tell them about. But they talk to hundreds of people from many communities all over the city, and probably everyone tells them pretty much the same thing depending on what perspective they are coming from (the community, the democratic machine, the banks, business, etc.)

Over the last several years and especially in the last nine months, there have been a number of activities by those who set the policy for the city of

Chicago that have not only gone unchallenged by the media, but it has been my experience, have gone misunderstood. And this is what we talked about.

The major issue raised in the aldermanic election in the 46th ward this year was the question of whether people who lived in this ward would be able to have a say as to the development of their communities and from whose point of view development is usually carried out.

Perhaps because of the reality of massive condominium conversion, this idea was seized upon by people throughout the ward regardless of income and regardless of ethnic background. The 46th ward is the

most diverse in the city as a whole. To attempt to develop concrete models in the 46th ward that allow true involvement of people in solving the problems that concern them is serious enough. To then be in a position to make those models a reality for people across Chicago amounts to sabotage.

The question, of course, is sabotage for whom, and, in this light, it is not really surprising to review the kinds of things said about "that crazy, radical Shiller who wants to tear apart Chicago."

But what were people across Chicago saying when they chose en masse to vote against Bilandic and for Jane Byrne?

Wasn't that the sentiment that things had gone too far, and, for a change, people in neighborhoods throughout Chicago must begin to have something to say about the policies being made that affect them? "Neighborhoods First" was the battle cry, and about that the people of Chicago were very serious.

The policy makers in the city of Chicago represent four basic groups: the banks, utility companies, large real estate and insurance. Since the early 1960's when Mayor Daley set up his first committee of economic advisers that ultimately became by city council legislation two years ago the Economic Development Commission, it has been the same names and the same groups that continue to crop up each time a major decision or policy has been set.

The city's Plan Commission includes Tom Ayers, Commonwealth Edison; Robert Abboud, First National Bank; Stanley Edlund, First Federal Savings and Loan; Harry Chaddick, First American Realty Corporation; Norman Perlmutter, Heitman Group, Inc; James Olson, Illinois Bell, etc., etc.

Over the last ten years neighborhoods in which low and moderate-income people have traditionally lived have been on a collision course with the city and large developers. These same neighborhoods, spread throughout the city, have been hit hard from the standpoint of economic development. Industry has moved, jobs have been lost, and small businesses based

in the community find it harder and harder to survive. While the policy makers have made their priority the encouragement of the retail and merchandise industry, little serious attention has been paid to encouraging industry to move to Chicago, let alone stay here.

In the 1960's it was profitable enough to construct large apartment buildings (especially when a few federal dollars could be squeezed). But in the 1970's, with inflationary costs of construction up 150 percent, utilities up 195 percent and finances, taxes and insurance up 15 percent, the large profits expected by real estate were down, and a new way to make money had to be found. And it was. Condominiums!

With the influx of condo conversions into the eastern part of the 46th ward, a large turnover in that area resulted. A quick comparison of voter registration poll sheets for the last 18 months easily confirms this. Many people have moved from apartment to apartment, hoping that this time they will be able to stay, only to find their new building going condo. Others who have bought condos have found that they no longer know their neighbors. Management companies hired by the predominantly developer-controlled condo boards do not provide adequate services, and the difference is obvious.

The effect on surrounding communities is even more devastating. Rents go up in buildings regardless of services (or lack of services) provided.

When buildings in other neighborhoods go condo they are often those that are in the best shape and where the same tenants have lived for a long time. In one building in north Lakeview, residents who had lived in their apartments as long as 50 years were being displaced.

Even more important is the effect condos have had on an economy and on the housing market. Without a stable economy neighborhood stability is a very touchy question. Condo conversion in this town has meant a boost to an already destructive inflationary cycle.

While Carter has called on unions to keep their wage demands down and while certain industries have been targeted for the inflation fight, housing has been left untouched. But everyone needs a place to live in.



The destruction of housing is one product of 'the collision course' between the neighborhoods and developers.

Helen Shiller

Chicago's vacancy rate is dangerously low — far below the 5 percent experts say is safe. In some communities of the 46th ward, like Uptown, the vacancy rate is down to zero. With no new construction, coupled with condo conversions, on the one hand, and destruction of buildings through a process of rape and arson by absentee slumlords, on the other, fewer places are available for people to live in. The demand outweighs the supply.

When property is sold to a developer to be converted, it is usually sold at 130 percent of what it is worth as a rental. When a developer converts a piece of property and goes to a bank for financing, the bank can treat the loan as a commercial loan. This means the bank can charge the prime interest two or three "points." The bank also gets a "spread," (a percentage of the investor's profit on their sale of the building over a set price).

In this way both the banks and the real estate concerns involved are able to make a good profit. Only they do this by inflating the value of the property.

If the vacancy rate stays lower than 5 percent, the demand for housing units remains greater than the supply. This helps to keep rents up. Now the high percent of condo units bought by investment

groups begins to make sense. They can be held back and put on the market carefully and at the right time (from the investor's point of view) to insure the continued high rent demands.

Chicago, not the first city to have apartments turned into condos, is one of the few major cities to have no legislation for



The failure of the city to regulate condo conversions caused rents to skyrocket in middle-income neighborhoods.

the regulation of condominiums.

Councilman Ed Vrdolyak, chairman of the powerful building and zoning committee and responsible for the compromise 40 day condominium moratorium ordinance last March (which was ruled unconstitutional by the federal court), is a member of a group of investors who, through a concealed land trust, own 47 apartments in Marina City, worth more than \$2 million.

Alderman Bernie Stone (50th ward) has substantial investments in condo property. He is also the chairman of the special subcommittee from the committee on building and zoning set up to examine the problems of condo conversion and its devastating effect on the rental market. This committee was set up a year ago and still has not suggested any legislation.

The developer of Marina City, Charles Swibel, is the chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority and American Invesco attorney Wayne Hannah was one of the chief architects of Chicago's current condo ordinance which provides no substantive regulation of conversions.

But the point is not that the evil is condo conversion, and if we eliminate that we solve our problems. The point is that the question of economic and community development go hand in hand, and this city must begin to orient these policies from the point of view of the people who live in Chicago's neighborhoods.

now or all hell will break loose.

Just as condos are the wave of the present, it has become a habit in Chicago to seek federal funds on the basis of low and moderate-income residents of the city and then when they are received to spend them elsewhere.

The instincts of people across Chicago were aroused in this year's city elections. In the 46th ward many people grasped quickly and clearly the nature of the problem. We must now go on to develop the models for change that are so crucial to us all — Operation Community Solution.

Operation Community Solution is the name for the organization we must develop to begin to implement the ideas expressed during my recent campaign. Many people responded to the Committees of Responsibility and signed up for those committees which were of primary concern and interest to them. Our mandate is to implement this structure and begin to collectively develop the solutions to problems we all feel we so badly need.

It is through Operation Community Solution that we can begin to show it is possible to develop policies from the point of view of people who live in the neighborhoods of our city. And we can begin to lay the foundations of developing a programmatic movement in this city that will use the point of view of those who live and work in the city as its standard. We have a lot to look forward to. □



The conversion of Sandburg Village [above], the largest of its kind in history, pulled 2,610 units from the rental housing market.



Comments On Chicago's Recent Municipal Elections

State Senator Harold Washington

A number of good people were elected to the city council from Black wards on the south and west sides in the last election. They were elected in part because of considerable sentiment in the city to throw Bilandic and the rascals out.

On the south side (27th ward) Niles Sherman was elected against a party-endorsed candidate. There is strong antipathy for Bennie Stewart (ward committeeman and congressman, 1st district) out there. Many people feel that he shouldn't have gone to Congress because he won't do anything. They told him that by rejecting his candidate. Niles Sherman, on the other hand, has been active in the ward and the community for years. He's almost an institution.

In the 29th, and other west side wards as well, there has been a growing reaction to the White domination of Black wards. Danny Davis' election expressed that.

Bob Shaw (9th ward) was hooked into a larger movement, and the issue there was clear. They had a White alderman, a bad one at that, representing a ward that was overwhelmingly Black.

Each of these three are of a much higher caliber than the people they replaced or defeated. They are well educated, they have the interests of the community at heart, and they will fight. . . .

But it is conceivable, not so much in the case of Shaw, that they might have lost, if many of the people who normally stay at home, did not come out this time.

This is what ties these elections to the Byrne election. She was elected by people who were disgruntled with the way the city was being run. That brought tens of thousands of voters out.

We have a right now to demand some things, but we should not expect a revolutionary new city government.

We have a right to demand more involvement in the whole administrative process of the city — not just a few department heads, although I think her choice of Eugene Barnes for the CTA was a fine one. We need Black and other minority people throughout the structure of city government.

We have a right to demand

more equal distribution of city jobs, in the park district as well as other city departments.

We have a right to demand better service from the Department of Streets and Sanitation.

And most importantly, we have a right to demand that programs be developed and carried out dealing with the pressing problems in our communities: redlining and the shortage of mortgage money to buy homes, full recreation programs in the parks for our youth, the use of CETA and other programs to stimulate more jobs.

We can claim these rights because, to a large extent, Black and other minority people elected Jane Byrne.

The real question now is not what will Jane Byrne do, but will the interest and involvement of Black people be sustained through other elections. Has the Black community learned its most important lesson from this election — that if they continue to be involved, they cannot only elect and reject candidates in their own wards and district, but they can affect the direction of the entire city. □

Uptown People's Health Center

4824 N. Broadway

878-6436



Comprehensive Medical Services
Comprehensive dental Services
Laboratory
X-Ray Services
Pharmacy Services
Social Services
Cancer Detection
Black Lung Evaluations

HOURS

Monday	9:00-5:00
Tuesday	1:00-9:00
Wednesday	9:00-5:00
Thursday	9:00-5:00
Friday	9:00-12:30
Saturday	9:00-12:30

The January issue of KEEP STRONG carried an inaccuracy. Joseph Linn, not Mike Segal owns the Wilson Men's Club Hotel at 1126 W. Wilson. Segal does, however, own the Bachelor Club at 1134 W Wilson, the polling place in that precinct is also located there.

Mayor Jane Byrne

The Machine's Joan of Arc

**A Review of the Mayor's
First Month**

by Slim Coleman

Jane Byrne's administration will be judged in two ways. First, the people will be able to judge her attempt to clean up the machine and make it work effectively. Second, if she succeeds at all in this attempt, the people will judge if an effectively working machine is a good way for Chicago to be governed.

The startling primary victory, mostly on the backs of a Black and poor community who came out to vote in great numbers against "the machine," was followed very quickly by Jane Byrne's embrace with Cook County Democratic Chairman George Dunne and a hug and a kiss from the machine's arch "honest crook," Vito Marzullo. The faithful who had supported her in the primary explained that "that was something she had to do for political reasons, to be able to run the city effectively." Then she made it very clear that Chairman George Dunne would continue to be in charge of the patronage system, and even a

few of the faithful outsiders who supported her began to say that it seemed that Jane Byrne was "business as usual in Chicago."

But Mayor Byrne has made some strong moves to prove that she will not do business as usual the way Bilandic did it. She will be more like Daley. And, in fact, she may be more like Daley than Daley was.

BYRNE VS. STREETS AND SANITATION

Her first day in office was to kick off the "clean up the neighborhoods campaign." This was to be a way to show she

would keep her campaign promises and that she would make the patronage army work for its salaries. She did daily spot checks on streets and sanitation crews, criticized slow work and finally found what she was looking for: a department boss who had used public funds to build himself a handball court and a steambath at his headquarters. She jumped on him. She jumped on the inefficiencies and overtime frauds and absentees in his department. And she suspended the man.

Lesson number 1: under the Byrne administration, the pay-rollers will have to produce honestly in order to keep collecting their salaries, not just on election day, but all year round in their city jobs. Bilandic wouldn't have bothered anyone; in fact, wouldn't have known how to bother anyone if he had cared to.

BYRNE VS. KELLY

The battle with patronage chief and parks commissioner Ed Kelly is on. Byrne says she is taking his patronage away and giving it to George Dunne to dispense. Kelly says "no way." The parks commissioner sits on top of 3,700 jobs. The biggest chunk of these go to his own 47th ward, 300 plus, and the next biggest chunks to city council boss Vrdolyak and his partner in crime, Ed Burke.

Through the use of the parks patronage, Kelly can put anywhere from five to ten precinct workers on his team in each of the precincts in his ward, and that spells winning elections.

But the issue is not the use of public jobs to maintain political control. Byrne doesn't criticize the patronage system. She says as Daley said, "Good government is good politics, and good politics is good government." The issue is that Kelly has too much patronage and that he divides it unevenly. This is bad for the machine. Like Daley, Byrne will work through chairman Dunne to keep things more evenly spread around. Democracy within the ranks of the 50 ward committeemen keeps the machine from developing factions and splits. It keeps it in good working order. It also keeps Dunne and Byrne in firm control, but having a strong leadership also keeps the machine working well.

BYRNE VS. MURRAY BROWN

Mayor Byrne lost no time in removing Board of Health Commissioner Murray Brown. The machine is no place for sentiment. Murray Brown was incompetent, and the Board of Health had become a laughing stock in the communities and among public health officials nationally. In his place she put a South American fellow named Dr. Hugo Muriel, who had been a family physician. He would be loyal, spread good public relations in the Latino community and would not be the public embarrassment that the senile

Dr. Brown had been. And the able Mayor Byrne slipped in one of her key administrative personnel to really run the department.

Lesson number 3: payrollers will have to be fairly competent in the city jobs and the city departments they are given to keep their positions.

BYRNE VS. THE GANGS

The news media was making the gang fighting in Westtown a major issue, and indeed, it was and is a growing problem. Lives are being lost senselessly. Mayor Byrne responded by going to the neighborhood, attending neighborhood meetings and jumping on the police to put more men on the streets and come up with more creative law enforcement programs. Admitting that this was not a long term solution, she declared, nevertheless, that "The problem is now under control." She also promised more CETA summer jobs, notwithstanding the fact that hundreds of jobs had been pumped into Westtown the year before, having little or no effect on the gangs because no programs exist to deal with the young brothers themselves who are in the gangs.

Lesson number 4: the mayor will respond very quickly to problems and help to provide temporary solutions.

BYRNE VS. THE CONDOMINIUMS

Now here was an issue where Mayor Byrne had to take sides,



A. Ald. Vito Marzullo (25th)



B. George Dunne - Chairman, Central Committee Cook County Democratic Party



C. Ed Kelly - park district superintendent and 47th ward boss.

JANE BYRNE

not just between the people's right to services and lazy payrollers, but between the real estate and banking interests which control Chicago and the people's interests.

The condominium developers, financed in over 50 percent of the cases by the Continental Bank in the Loop, were eating up thousands of rental units a month. People were forced out, not just on the lakefront, but out of moderate-income six flats as well. Real estate developers were becoming millionaires over night, the banks were collecting record interest rates, and the majority of Chicagoans were paying rents that increased 10 to 20 to 50 percent in a few months because the demand for rental apartments went up as condomania cut down the supply.

There was virtually a mass movement to get some kind of moratorium on condo conversions until a law regulating them could be passed. Almost every other city where condo conversions are going on has some kind of regulation, but not Chicago.

The city council cleverly stalled until after the election. Then alderman Vrdolyak made the deal for Mayor Byrne. A moratorium ordinance was drafted with the mayor's support, visible and loud, that was blatantly unconstitutional. It was forced through the city council with the independents not even realizing what was



Byrne jumped on overtime frauds and high absenteeism in the Department of Streets and Sanitation.

going on. Almost as soon as it was passed, it was taken to court and ruled unconstitutional and thrown out. And that is the last Chicago has heard to date about regulating condominium conversion. Nothing has been heard from the mayor.

Lesson number 5: when issues come up that might seem to cause the mayor to confront the banking and real estate interests, she shows us there is more than one way to skin a cat.

IS THIS A GOOD WAY TO RUN A DEMOCRACY?

Mayor Byrne will probably keep most of her campaign promises. That is good government, and that is good politics. And, after all, she promised very little. She will take the steam out of the reformers because she will take a lot of

the graft out of the patronage system. She will not be aloof, like "cold fish" Bilandic, to the people's problems: she will show concern. But she may run into trouble as her first term goes on.

Daley, like Byrne, was against corruption. It was unnecessary. The whole purpose of the machine is to control the vote so that you control the government so that the big business community downtown will not be opposed in doing what it wants to do. It is simply too expensive for the banks and businesses to bribe all the voters or even all the aldermen and their precinct captains. Instead, the machine creates a stable power structure and uses public money, the public payroll, to legally bribe the aldermen, the ward committeemen, precinct workers and a few community leaders to guar-

antee its support. The thing to do is keep down excess petty corruption to a minimum so that the reformers can't get the voters enraged, and try to get the payrollers to perform minimum city services.

Bilandic didn't understand the system. The millions of dollars in contracts handed out as favors and the uncaring inefficiency of the snow removal teams showed him up.

But Daley had trouble making the system work, too. Daley didn't dare to challenge the financial bosses in the Loop. And when they set on a definite course of building up the Loop while destroying the neighborhoods, developing Chicago as a financial and trade center and letting the industrial jobs go, Daley had a hard time keeping people in line.

The jobs went in the city because of the financial bosses' policies, and with the jobs went the tax base. And without the tax base, it was hard to keep the public payroll attractive to men Daley needed to control



Mayor Richard J. Daley announces the Chicago 21 Plan in 1973.

the vote. He had to let the aldermen play around with real estate deals. He had to let the precinct captains get their fingers in the till. He couldn't enforce discipline in the departments. And the people in the communities, watching their neighborhoods deteriorate while the Loop was being rebuilt, were harder and harder to satisfy and keep quiet.

Unless Byrne challenges the Loop financial elite, she will

face the same contradiction that was beginning to break Daley. And as yet she has done nothing to show that she will stop the rip off of federal community development and economic development funds by the Loop developers. She has done nothing to show she will fight the Abbouds (First National Bank) and the Ayers (utilities) and make them help Chicago respond to growing unemployment.

But after all, Jane Byrne did not run on a program of bringing the large financial concerns to serve the public good. She ran on a program of making the machine an honest machine. And that machine will continue to turn over the democratic trust of the people to the very undemocratic control of the First National Bank and the Continental Bank and a few others in the Loop.

The question is: is this any way to run a democracy? □



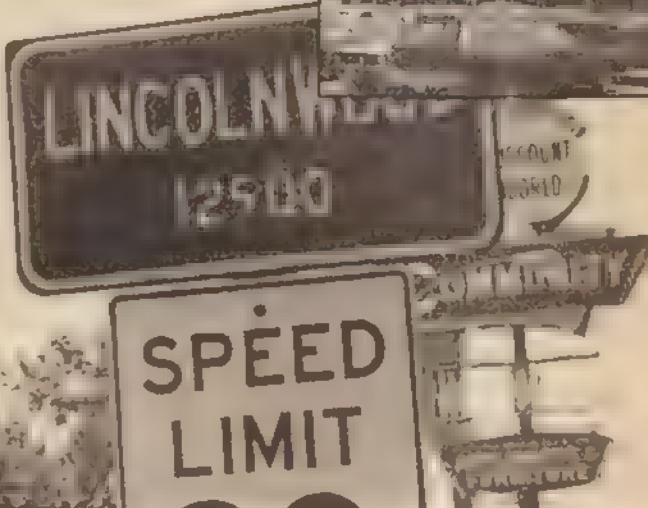
Bilandic announcing controversial Dearborn Park development in 1977.



The **LINCOLNWOOD**

By Marc Zalkin

*A half dozen banks,
several key political offices
and acres and acres of
prime city real estate —
just part of a hidden
urban empire.*



Driving west on Devon you'd think you were still in Chicago, unless you noticed the tiny sign that said Lincolnwood when you crossed Kedzie.

When the weather is warm, the trees and grass start to get pretty green right there, and you almost have to ask yourself, "Am I still in Chicago?"

Lincolnwood, Illinois — population 13,000 — quiet, middle class suburb old enough for Chicago to have grown around it, borders the city at Kedzie and Devon.

CONNECTION



SPAUING AVE.

GLASS REP
CALL C.
276-

GLASS REPLACE
CALL CAPIT
276-1200

GLASS RE
CALL C
• 276

G Your alderman ward 66
ACE
CALL CAPIT
276-1200

One of the 200 Sheller posters defaced the morning of election day by Axelrod workers.

A stable community without gang problems, drug problems, parking problems and garbage problems that plague its neighboring communities a few blocks away, Lincolnwood is a village made up of successful professional and business people, and they have it organized so that it meets their needs.

But just as there are two points of view on any question and two sides to every story, there is another side to Lincolnwood. Buried somewhere in the middle of the town's polish and luxury are a series of

relationships that extend far across the city of Chicago and touch all kinds of people, from political leaders and law enforcement officials to people with connections to organized crime. All of these relationships have three common points — real estate, banking and politics.

It is the combination of people with a common interest in making money through the manipulation of Chicago real estate that will come to be called the Lincolnwood Connection. But it is their use of the

city government, as a guard dog for their various scams, that this article is about.

THE BOYS AT THE BANK

Among other things, Lincolnwood has two fine banks of which the entire community is proud. The older of these two is the Bank of Lincolnwood. For most of the last several years, the president of the Bank of Lincolnwood has been a man named Richard Goodman.

Until 1973, Goodman had been involved in assembling a

mini real estate empire in the Chicago Loop and western suburb of Oak Park. This empire included the Bankers Building, a 42 story structure at 105 W. Adams, the 24 story 185 N. Wabash Building and the Oak Park Arms Hotel at 1108 S. Oak Park in Oak Park.

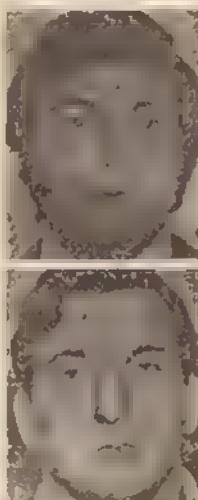
Goodman ran short of money in 1973. He said at the time he couldn't afford to pay the increase on the buildings' property tax. He sold three buildings for \$10 million. He was in the process of negotiating the sale of two other buildings which he owned — the Windmere, at 1624 E. 56th in Hyde Park and the Alberton, 701 N. Michigan, not exactly flophouses — for another \$6 million when the news broke.

The news was that Goodman had sold the buildings to two gentlemen with dubious backgrounds. Although they claimed that they had purchased and were managing the buildings for a group of "New York investors," Samuel J. Annerino and Samuel S. Sarcinelli were in full command of the operation and principals in negotiations for the other two buildings when a United States Justice Department investigation of them was announced.

Sarcinelli had been a major

stockholder in the Skokie-based Taco-Si, Inc. At that time the controller of the food products company was Ken Eto, crime syndicate gambling boss for the northside of Chicago.

In 1972, Sarcinelli was indicted for embezzling \$250 thousand from the Metro Casualty Company. Metro, organized by Charles Lomax, held Chicago's first Black-owned insurance charter. Sarcinelli, who said he was employed as a controller for Briar Manage-



Mob figures Samuel S. Sarcinelli (top left) and Samuel J. Annerino (bottom left), exposed in major property deals with Richard Goodman. At the time Goodman was chairman of General Stores Corp. Also on the board was Erwin "Izzy" Horwitz (right), veteran Democratic Party fundraiser.



ment, hired Annerino to oversee maintenance of the properties. Annerino had been convicted in 1972 of conspiring to use extortion. The victim, testified in court that he had been forced to pay \$6,000 on a \$2,000 debt.

The expose caused such a stir at the time that the president of the Chicago Crime Commission, Les Schooler, was purported to comment, "It is my feeling that the average citizen in Chicago has been led to believe that the

power of organized crime has been substantially diminished in our community. The joint investigation by the Sun-Times and the Crime Commission tends to disprove that belief. Organized crime figures with organized crime backgrounds appear to be making major moves and manage, if not indeed control, important Chicago real estate landmarks."

Questioned as to the particulars of the property deal, Sarcinelli said that the purchase was organized through broker Frank Vivacqua, of 6451 N. Lincolnwood.

Others who have held or hold seats on the board of the Bank of Lincolnwood are Raymond A. Eiden and Walter Goodman.

Both Goodmans, Richard and Walter, as well as Eiden have served on the board of a company called General Stores Corporation, Richard in the capacity of chairman.

General Stores Corporation is the child of Erwin "Izzy" Horwitz; former business partner of Arthur X. Elrod, former vice president of the 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization; former employee of the Illinois Department of Revenue; former research director of the Cook County Assessor's office (ousted when his boss, Frank Keenan, was sent to prison for tax evasion); former county commissioner of building and zoning; former landlord to syndicate figures who operated a clip joint at 754 S.

Wabash and a bookie ring at State and Van Buren and presently an auditor employed by Cook County.

In 1964 Horwitz estimated the value of his real estate holdings at half a million dollars. If that were an honest figure, the natural increase in real estate values over 14 years would make him three to four times wealthier today.

Horwitz is a longtime benefactor of machine political candidates in wards and legislative districts on Chicago's north and west sides.

In the last year alone he has contributed over \$10,000 to the re-election of Sheriff Elrod, State Representative William Marovitz and machine alderman Ralph Axelrod, as well as the 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization. In fact, many believe him to be the present Godfather of the Elrod organization (Elrod lives in Lincolnwood) and by virtue of that, the real boss and final authority in the 46th ward.

MORE ON THE MONEY MEN

Lincolnwood has another fine bank called the First National of Lincolnwood.

Nels Werner, 4250 N. Marine Drive, vice president of the

46th Ward Regular Democratic Organization, has been a board member of First National. So have Harry Zaidenberg and Marvin and Sally Schnieder. Zaidenberg is a "close friend" of the Elrod family and longtime supporter of the sheriff. His son, Philip, is a deputy sheriff.

Schnieder also holds a seat on the board of the North Community State Bank along with Sherwin Willens and Matthew Walsh, both on the board of directors of the Bank of Ra-



Sheriff Elrod (Inset) has played an active, behind the scenes role in the Axelrod organization.

venswood.

Another member of the board of North Community State Bank is Lawrence Warner. Warner is a partner/operator of Lash/Warner Associates, public adjuster and appraiser of fire losses. He is also a regular contributor to the campaign of Ralph Axelrod.

But most of all he is the principal shaker in a multi-million dollar townhouse condominium development at Wave-

land and Lake Shore Drive, a scant block and a half from the North Community State Bank in the southeast corner of the 46th ward.

THE BOYS GET NERVOUS

46th ward alderman Ralph Axelrod came up for re-election last February 27. Observers across the city had analyzed his position as shaky. He had won a special election in May with a skimpy 5,600 votes only narrowly avoiding a run-off against

Helen Shiller who was virtually unknown and terribly underfinanced.

Now Shiller was back again. Her precinct volunteers collected 7,000 signatures on her nomination petitions. Shiller's campaign registered 2,700 new voters on in-precinct registration day, January 30, and everyone, including Axelrod, knew that 95 percent of those were Shiller voters.

In early February, the "connectors" started to realize they had a problem. Axelrod's organization was considered light. He had less than a dozen solid captains. Only a couple of those were in Uptown where he relied heavily on the flophouse and nursing home vote to bring those precincts in.

Although he had been a

LINCOLNWOOD CONNECTION

committeeman for six years, his record in delivering votes impressed no one, and he ranked 39 of the 50 ward committeemen of the Cook County Central Committee.

The shining star and big vote getter of the 46th ward had been Chris Cohen, elected alderman in 1971 and 1975. But Axelrod had pushed Cohen out in the middle of his second term to open the aldermanic seat for himself.

Now the organization was under the command of Paul Cymbalisty, officially titled "aldermanic aide." Cymbalisty, 23 years old and 270 pounds, touted himself as a political organizer. He had joined the 46th ward organization after working for Richard Mell (alderman, 33rd ward) and Al Ronan (state rep., 14th district), two rising stars of the machine for the northwest side.

But Cymbalisty had problems of his own. He was on court supervision for conviction of a gun charge and had a history of arrests for a variety of charges, including contributing to the sexual delinquency of a minor.

Cymbalisty's quick installation as a leader of the ward organization and the fact that he was appointed to one of the two salaried positions that the alderman had at his disposal, a prize traditionally awarded to a captain from within the ranks, made him slightly unpopular

with many of the captains in the precincts.

THE 46TH WARD IS THEIR MARKETPLACE

Now the fight was on, and Axelrod's chances looked bleaker each day. A number of major real estate deals were on the line, including the expansion of Thorek Hospital at Broadway and Irving



TOP:
Paul Cymbalisty
MIDDLE:
Ralph Axelrod
BOTTOM:
Victor DeGrazia

Warner's townhouse project at Waveland and Lake Shore Drive and Bill Thompson's Scotland Yard apartments at Broadway and Buena (for which

Axelrod had acted as a sponsor to make Thompson eligible for federal funding).

Shiller had built a campaign, with over 300 precinct workers going out, criticizing developers and speculators as the prime source of urban instability and high rents and had committed herself to shutting them down.

By the second week of February it was clear that something had to be done soon. The lines of the Lincolnwood Connection began to buzz. Pop went the safe deposit boxes in banks across the northside and out came the cash.

It was right about this time, February 19, that the Ellis Hotel at 4651 N. Magnolia burned to the ground, killing two people.

The Ellis Hotel had been one of two dozen buildings that were controlled, milked and destroyed by a group of suburban-based real estate speculators headed by Charles Roberts. The Ellis Hotel was the tenth building in Uptown/Edgewater and the eighth in the 46th ward that fell to Roberts' ten year plan for Uptown.

Housing activists in Uptown say the gross income from the operation (including hundreds of stolen social security checks, contrived income tax deductions and fire insurance checks) is well into millions of dollars.

Those who are naive or not schooled in the ways of Chicago

real estate stood in awe as Roberts and company destroyed building after building. Roberts' secret was in how he spread the fat around.

One of his partners was Robert Baldi, for years the apparent owner of the Ellis and the Carlton across the street from it. Baldi, until he was shot to death by the police during a marital quarrel in 1977, had been close to the Elrod organization for many years. As recently as 1978, the Baldi clan dropped \$1,000 on Sheriff Elrod's re-election committee.

Roberts' other partner in his million dollar real estate maneuver was one "Frank R. Vivacqua, real estate broker," 6451 N. Lincoln, Lincolnwood, Illinois.

BRING IN THE HIRED GUN

With the February 27 election a week away, Victor DeGrazia was hired to bail out the machine's sinking ship. DeGrazia, facing a grand jury investigation for laundering \$57,000 in campaign contributions to Dan Walker, was given a five figure commission and a blank check for expenses.

Within days his presence was felt across the ward, and Axelrod's campaign took a turn towards the sewer. A flier, signed by a group of "Independents for Axelrod" reached the door of every voter in the ward four days before the election. The leaflet denounced Shiller and relied mainly on racism and other fears to polarize voters against her.



Above — Charles Roberts' Arlington Heights home.

Lower — One of the victims' bodies being carried from the February 19 fire at the Ellis.

But the ship was too far gone. Axelrod lost the February 27 election 6,900 to 6,200, losing 32 of the ward's 53 precincts and all but three in the ward's Uptown section. Only the candidacy of self-proclaimed "independent" Angela Turley prevented Shiller from gaining the necessary 50.1 percent of the votes and saved Axelrod from political rigor mortis.

On several occasions in February, Turley had publicly acknowledged her commitment to support Shiller in the event of a runoff against Axelrod. She ended up actively campaigning for Axelrod in the

week before the April 3 runoff. While her reasons for her alliance with Axelrod were fuzzy, sources within the organization explain that Axelrod agreed to slate her to run for 12th district state representative in 1980.

DEGRAZIA: NO STRANGER TO THE GUTTER

DeGrazia had been the political strategist and chief operator behind one term governor Dan Walker. At least part of the reason the voters yanked Walker after one term were the endless scandals that plagued his first and only term. DeGra-

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zia's name was prominently mentioned in most of these. By 1976 it was apparent that Walker and DeGrazia were using agencies and offices of the state of Illinois to muscle cash from people seeking "preferred status" with the governor's office. The list was endless and included contractors, industrialists, nursing home operators and doctors under investigation for millions of dollars in medicaid fraud.

DeGrazia himself was no stranger to Uptown or the 46th ward. As executive director of the Maremont Foundation in the late sixties he was implicated in the "loss" of a quarter of a million dollars in federal assistance money the foundation had received for the rehabilitation and maintenance of two courtyard buildings at Broadway and Buena. When government auditors found the

money missing, the Maremonts threw their hands in the air (except the foundation vice president who had split to France). The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was forced to take direct control of the buildings.

By 1974 HUD had contracted with City Centrum real estate to manage the buildings. City Centrum is a piece of the growing empire of northside developer Bill Thompson. Within 18 months Thompson had purchased the buildings, evicted 110 families and boarded the place up. The buildings are now the site of Thompson's much publicized Scotland Yard project, of which Axelrod is a co-sponsor.

When DeGrazia came back this time, he brought with him Hal Wallace, a high-powered media consultant. Wallace was one of those who had gone down with the Bilandic ship on February 27 and was now almost desperate for a winner.

Wallace handled the media in March, and DeGrazia developed the strategy for the precincts.

DeGrazia, applying his favorite rule of thumb, "There is no truth in politics, only versions of it," marched into Uptown screaming, "The niggers are coming, the niggers are coming," and handing out the money that Horwitz and the Sheriff had raised through the Lincolnwood Connection.

MONEY, GOONS and LIES

All the plugs were pulled; no chance to jam Shiller was overlooked. Sheriff Elrod was on the phone canvassing employers of prominent Shiller supporters. Ross Harano, former aldermanic candidate in the 48th ward, and Gerhard Umlauf, president of the Bank of Chicago, were dispatched to the Sun-Times in the 11th hour to attempt to dissuade them from endorsing Shiller.

The primarily Jewish high rises on Lake Shore Drive were blitzed daily with letters and solicitations from rabbis and Jewish community leaders that the machine had pocketed years before. The literature painted Shiller as pro-Palestinian guerrilla, an issue sensitive to the ward's thousands of Jewish voters, but totally without basis and irrelevant to the development of the 46th ward and the city of Chicago.

As the April 3 election approached, machine captains and goons from across the city filtered into the ward. The



Helen Shiller defeated Axelrod in the February 27th primary and sent a jolt through the spine of the Elrod organization.

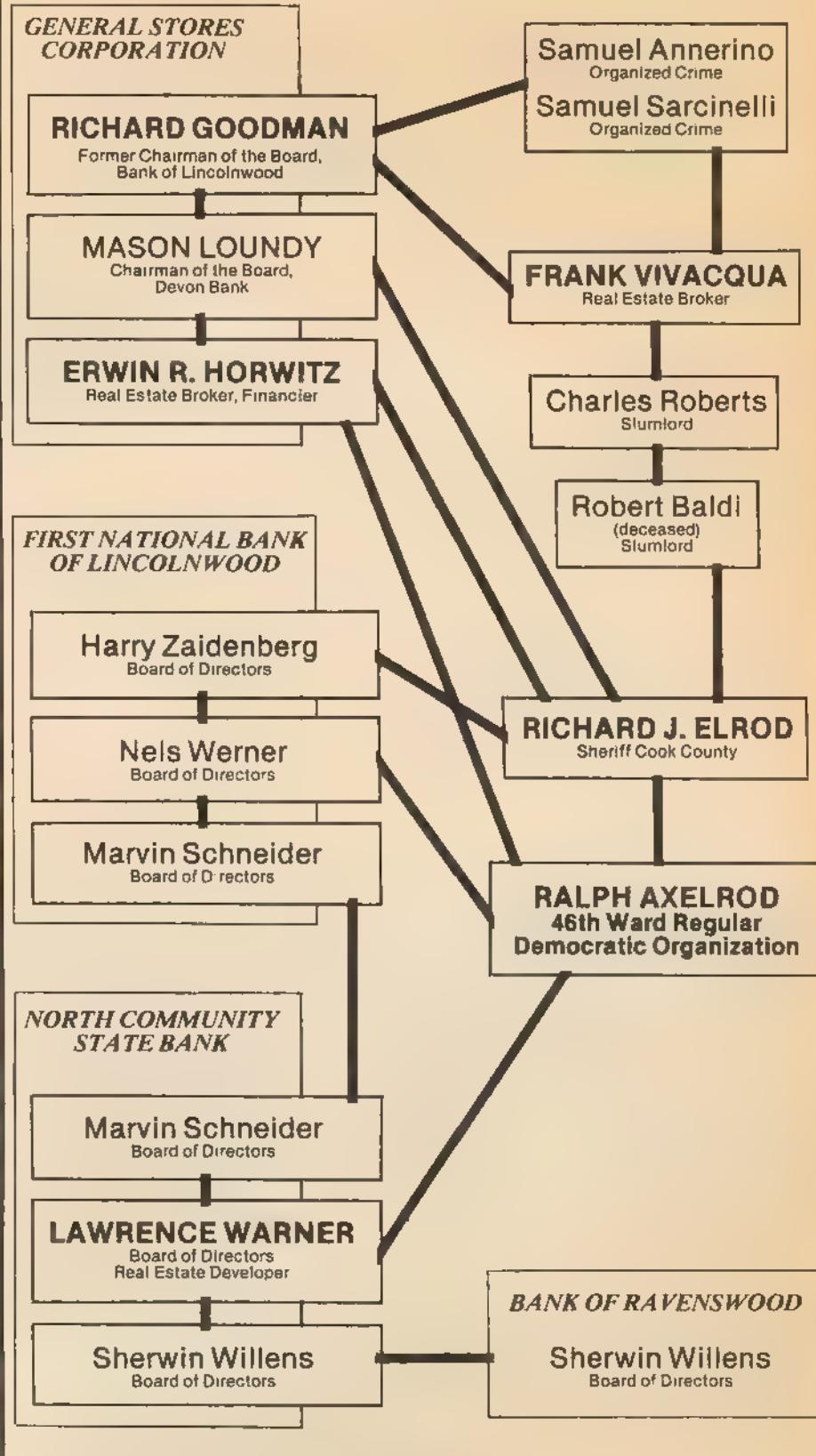
price — \$300 a day. The job — talk to the voters, promote racism, play on prejudice and fear and then flash the cash. By the days immediately before the election, some of Shiller's February supporters had been bought and paid for. Building managers in Uptown were canvassing for Axelrod, threatening evictions for Shiller voters and offering rent reductions and bonuses for Axelrod votes.

Gangs of teenagers were hired to roam the streets attacking Shiller supporters and defacing her posters, and the violence associated with machine politics in Chicago filled the air. On election day workers from ten ward organizations, including D'Arco's 1st ward and Ed Kelly's 47th ward, crowded the precincts and the polling places. Over \$30,000 was spent on the street on election day alone (a figure that will probably not appear in Axelrod's campaign disclosures).

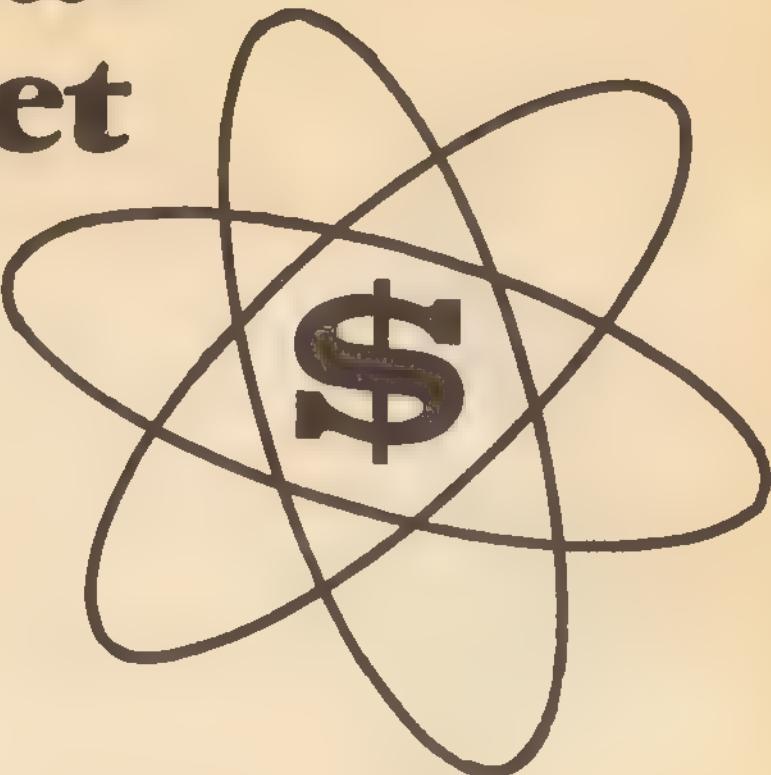
As many as ten teams of states attorneys patrolled the precincts, watching for vote fraud and vote buying, and Shiller placed 30 attorneys in polling places to prevent voter fraud and voter intimidation. When the votes were counted Axelrod had won by 200 votes.

Estimates of the cost of Axelrod's campaign, piecing together what was spent on the street, what DeGrazia and his staff got, the printing bills, etc., go as high as \$175 thousand. A lot of money in some circles — but not much to protect an investment.□

The LINCOLNWOOD CONNECTION



Nuclear Market



"THE INCIDENT"

"There has been an incident at Three Mile Island Unit #2. Everything is under control. There is and was no danger to public health and safety." On Wednesday, March 28, at 11:30 a.m. Lt. Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania made that short statement to the press.

Three Mile Island Unit #2 is a nuclear power plant in central Pennsylvania. It is operated by Metropolitan Edison, a sub-

sidiary of the much larger General Public Utilities which is based in New York but sells electricity throughout Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1974 Fortune Magazine listed General Public Utilities as the 13th largest utility in the United States, with assets of \$3.5 billion.

The "incident" that Lt. Governor Scranton was referring to was a massive release of radiation brought on by the overheating of a nuclear reactor. Nuclear reaction (what a

nuclear reactor does) is a high technology method for boiling water. It is water in the form of steam that pushes turbines that generate electricity. The water is heated by uranium, packed into thin rods, and the uranium is kept at a safe 600 degrees by water constantly running over, under and around it.

At 4:00 on the morning of March 28, a full seven and a half hours before the Lt. Governor's announcement, the water stopped running, and the uranium started getting hot. It

takes only 28 seconds for the uncovered uranium to reach a temperature of 3,000 degrees. The buildup of pressure inside the reactor was eased when a safety valve opened to let the steam run out. Within a few seconds the emergency cooling system flipped on automatically. But a technician misread a pressure gauge and turned the water off. Minutes later the water was kicked back on, and the technician realized that the gauges were not working properly.

But now the problem had escalated. The fuel was too hot to be cooled by the water. The fuel turned the water to steam, and the steam rushed through the open safety valve. The safety valve refused to close, and a quarter of a million gallons of radioactive steam pushed out onto the floor of the dome that housed the reactor.

The steam's radiation was highly intense. The walls of the dome are three to six feet thick

and lined with six inch steel plates. But the radiation penetrated them anyway and escaped to the outside.

"... NOT CONCERNED ABOUT PUBLIC SAFETY..."

At 11:00 a.m. Bill Gross, a spokesman for Metropolitan Edison, told a gathering of reporters, "At this point, we are not concerned about public safety, but the economics of the situation."

At the plant the radioactive water continued to flood the building, and the nuclear fuel could not be cooled. The water flowed over the auxiliary container and into a second tank. But the second tank was not equipped to trap nuclear gases, which escaped into the air for the next two and one half hours.

At noon, Don Curry, another spokesman for Metropolitan Edison, described the

accident as "a mechanical mishap, a broken water pump that happened to occur at a nuclear power plant." The reactor continued to burn for the next 18 hours.

At 4:00 that afternoon, Lt. Governor Scranton issued a new statement; "The situation is more complex than the company first led us to believe. Met-Edison had given you and us conflicting information. From 11:00 a.m. until about 1:30 p.m., Three Mile Island discharged into the air detectable amounts of radiation."

By 7:00 in the evening of the 28th, General Public Utilities was forced to admit that there had been some "low level release of radioactive gas beyond the site boundary. Despite this release, the company does not believe that the level constitutes a danger to the health and safety of the public."

But it was not until 5:00 the next afternoon that the gov-



Officials briefing reporters after accident at Three Mile Island.

Nuclear Market

10 LARGEST UTILITIES

Nuclear Plants

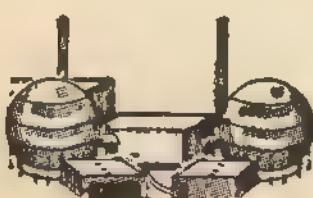
Company	under operating	construction	planned
Pacific Gas & Electric	0	2	2
Commonwealth Edison (Chi.)	7	6	2
Public Service Gas & Elec. (Newark)	2	2	2
General Public Utilities (N.Y.)	4	0	0
Duke Power (N. Carolina)	4	6	3
Southern Calif. Edison (L.A.)	1	2	0
Philadelphia Elec.	2	2	0
Virginia Elec. Power	4	2	0
Detroit Edison	1	1	2
Consolidated Edison (N.Y.)	2	0	0

A — 40 percent of all commercial nuclear reactors are owned by just ten companies.

10 LARGEST URANIUM PRODUCERS

Company	1978 ASSETS (In millions)
Kerr-McGee	\$ 2,021,742
Gulf Oil	\$15,036,000
Exxon	\$41,530,804
Atlantic Richfield	\$17,060,210
Mobil Oil	\$22,611,479
Continental Oil	\$ 7,445,165
Getty Oil	\$ 4,718,289
Union Oil	n.a.
Phillips Petroleum	\$ 6,935,359
Union Carbide	\$ 7,866,200

B — One-half of all the uranium is mined by ten oil companies, with combined assets over \$130 billion.



ernor's office issued its first official statement, "There is no cause for alarm, nor any reason to disrupt your daily routine nor any reason to feel that the public health has been affected."

In retrospect, there are those who feel that the Governor, Richard Thurnburgh, the only man with legal authority to order an evacuation, never had a grasp of the situation. Among those was Joseph Hendrie, Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, who stated in a closed commission meeting on March 30, "I don't have the impression that they (the workers at the reactor site) have a good grip on it. We are operating totally in the blind. His (Governor Thurnburgh's) information is ambiguous, mine is nonexistent. I don't know — it's like a couple of blind men staggering around making decisions."

At 10:45 on the morning of March 30, Governor Thurnburgh advised 300,000 residents living in a ten mile radius of Three Mile Island to stay indoors and keep their windows shut. Within two hours he had changed his mind again. He ordered 23 schools near Three Mile Island to close and "urged" all pregnant women and young children within a five mile radius of Three Mile Island to "flee." By this time the poisonous radiation had been in the atmosphere for more than 50 hours.

The accident in Pennsylvania intensified and popularized a debate that has been develop-

ing in this country for 25 years. The debate centers on the effectiveness of nuclear power as a method to generate electricity as seen against the dangers it continually poses to the health and safety of the public.

TWO DANGERS

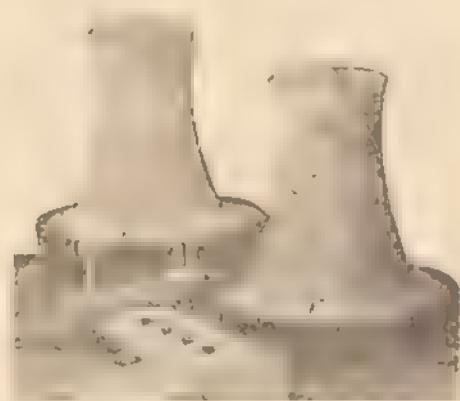
The dangers fall into two categories: reactor safety and waste disposal. The rupture of the machinery on March 28 has turned nationwide attention to the first problem. And despite the claims of utility company executives and nuclear proponents within the government, facts revealed before and after the Pennsylvania accident indicate that a major nuclear incident is possible.

In an April 1978 letter to Babcock and Wilcox (manufacturers of the reactor at Three Mile Island), Dr. Carl Michelson, senior nuclear safety expert for the Tennessee Valley Authority (the country's largest user of commercial nuclear power) observed that "the reactor's pressurizer could (falsely) suggest to an operator that he should turn off the emergency core cooling system." Recently, Michelson testified that the company's letter responding to him made no sense, and his second letter to them was never answered.

On April 1, The Nuclear Regulatory Commission released the contents of its own files indicating that at least eight plants (in South Carolina, Arkansas, Ohio, Florida and southern California), all built by

Babcock and Wilcox, had reported problems in their emergency cooling systems. Again on April 17, the commission announced that there had been 57 "similar incidents" in plants around the United States built by Babcock and Wilcox. The newest report mentioned stuck valves, computer breakdowns and in one case pumps shorted out when they were flooded with sea water.

Eleven days later, the commission ordered the eight plants to shut down.



In 1975, David Comey, director of environmental research at Business and Professional People for the Public Interest (BPI), until his accidental death in 1977, and leading expert on nuclear energy, gave an interviewer the following account of what would happen after the uranium in a nuclear reactor is left uncovered with water:

"At that point the whole works is melting, fuel rods, everything. It all becomes a blob. In the parlance of the industry, it takes on an 'uncoolable geometry.' The core would begin to melt after about a minute. In about 10-15 minutes it would melt down completely.

At this point the melting reactor could do one of two things. It could eat its way through the bottom of the reactor pressure vessel, a foot thick slab of boiler plate. This would take 30 minutes at the most. Then it would go through the concrete floor below that, and then it would begin melting down through the earth.

"In the industry this scenario is called the China Syndrome, because, in theory, the blob could go on melting its way clear through to China. The metal and radioactive fission by products would keep reacting with water spilled in the accident. The result would be radioactive steam, and if the core breaks out of the containment, radioactive geysers would be coming out of the ground like Old Faithful."

Mr. Comey went on to describe another sequence of events that might also occur. In what he termed the Apollo Syndrome, a steam explosion causing a tremendous release of energy would drive the molten core straight upward like a cannonball, right through the top of the pressure vessel and then through the containment dome, with an exit velocity of 350 miles per hour. The entire contents of the reactor core would then come down in some cornfield giving off radioactive gases.

For the last ten years, the energy industry and government had rested their rationalization on the effects of this kind of accident on the last report submitted by the old

Nuclear Market

Atomic Energy Commission. The Rasmussen study, as it had come to be called, concluded that 6,900 people would be killed and 17,000 injured from a meltdown. Within the last year, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has been forced to abandon the findings of that study, as its authors were discredited. A much earlier study done for the AEC, which was released only a few years ago and has never been publicized, put the figure at 45,000 people killed in an area the size of Pennsylvania.

WASTE DISPOSAL

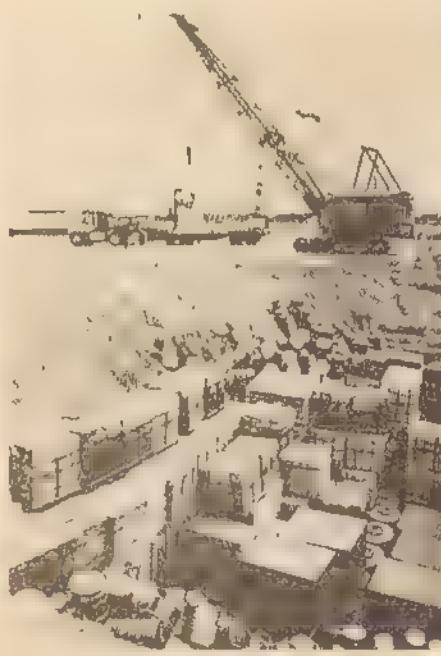
While not nearly as exciting, the problem of waste disposal is perhaps far more serious and deadly.

Dr. Helen Caldecott, an Australian scientist, has explained the problem in this way, "Every nuclear reactor makes 400-500 pounds of plutonium every year. By the year 2,020 in this country they will have made 30,000 tons of it. There will be 100,000 shipments of plutonium transported across the highways in this country annually. Plutonium has a half life of 24,400 years. That means it is not safe for half a million years. It is not biodegradable, you can't get rid of it, and they don't know where to put it... If you inhale one atom of plutonium into your lung, and it emits one alpha particle which damages one cell and one gene, that can kill you, because it produces millions of cells — another tumor." Another way

of stating this is that a pound of uranium is enough to poison the entire population of the world.

A General Electric Company facility at Morris, Illinois is one of the nation's principal dumps for nuclear waste. Built, but never opened, for the reprocessing of nuclear garbage, the dump now receives regular shipments from California, Connecticut, Wisconsin, as well as the seven nuclear plants in Illinois operated by Commonwealth Edison. The heart of the dump is a large pool which holds the spent fuel rods submerged under water. But the capacity of the pool is only 700 tons, and General Electric officials concede it will be filled in four to five years.

Chairman of the Board of Commonwealth Edison, Thomas G. Ayers, has expressed a great deal of concern. Edison is the leading user of commercial nuclear power in the country,



The General Electric dump at Morris, Illinois has a capacity for 700 tons but will be filled in 4 to 5 years.

(ten percent of all commercial nuclear power is contained in Edison's seven operating units). But his concern appears shallow in light of his most recent statements that, "It's up to Congress to get moving on a firm disposal plan."

In 1978 divers in California "discovered" 45,000 55-gallon drums containing plutonium at the bottom of the San Francisco Bay near the Fallon Islands. The drums had been dropped there by the U.S. military 15 to 20 years before. One-third to one half of the drums had been partially eaten away by their radioactive contents. Radiation has been leaking out of the drums for years, into the water, the fish and ultimately the entire food chain.

When the uranium is milled and enriched, much of the original ore is discarded. Huge mounds of this powder called tailings pile up outside the milling plants. Dr. Caldecott relates the experience of one community that lived near one of these plants.

"In Grand Junction, Colorado, people didn't know these tailings were dangerous, so they used them to build schools and hospitals and houses and roads. There's an increased incidence of congenital deformities among the babies born in those houses. And they still live there, because it's economically not feasible to pull them down and build new ones."

For anyone who was wondering what happened to the 250 thousand gallons of radioactive

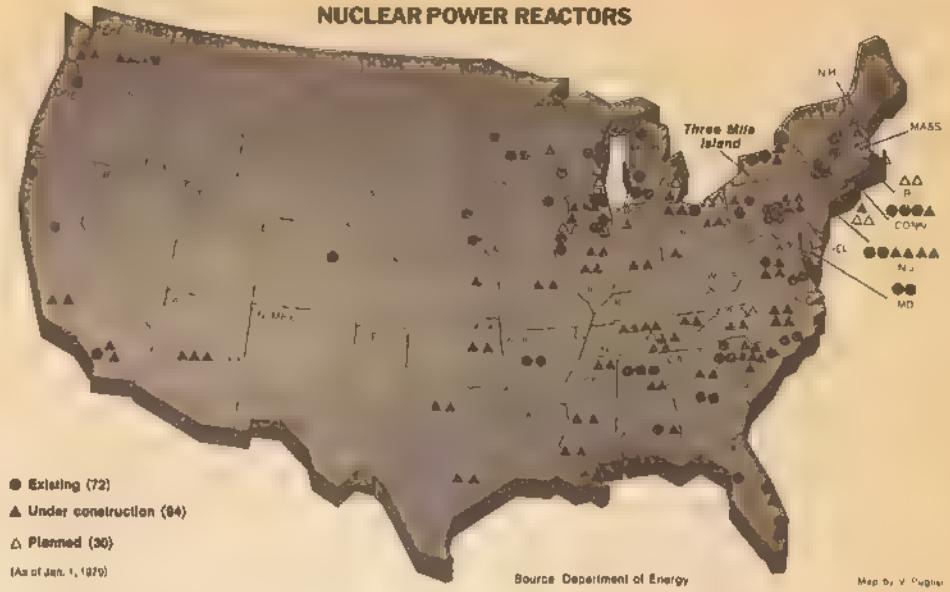
steam that burst out of the Three Mile Island reactor for several hours on March 28, two days later Pennsylvania Secretary of Environmental Resources, Clifford Jones announced that the state and federal governments had granted the Metropolitan Edison Corporation permission to dump 400 thousand gallons of "slightly radioactive water into the Susquehanna River."

(Metropolitan Edison never had a specific plan for waste disposal. In testimony before the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission in 1978, Robert C. Arnold, a vice president, was questioned about the utility's program for disposal of nuclear garbage. Arnold answered, that he was not exactly sure how it would be handled, but "the option which results in the minimum expenditure consistent with an acceptable risk to the public, would be selected.")

Secretary Jones' report went on to assure the public that "There was no cause for concern. Towns downstream from Harrisburg that took their drinking water from the Susquehanna River were notified."

CORNERING THE NUCLEAR MARKET

Before the uproar surrounding Three Mile Island, there were 72 commercial nuclear reactors operating in this country. Another 125 were under construction or planned for construction. Metropolitan Edison put an \$800 million price tag on the cost to build unit #2



at Three Mile Island. Allowing generously for inflation, we can figure that all those that have been built cost approximately half that, and those that will be built by 1983 will cost about the same, give or take a couple of hundred million dollars.

Those are not the kind of figures you can multiply on your average pocket calculator, but the total figure is quite large — \$128 billion. Four corporations hold 92 percent of the contracts on all the nuclear reactors that have been or will be built in the next four years. Just two companies — General Electric and Westinghouse — control 65 percent or 138 out of 213 reactors.

In 1978, these companies reported a net income (after taxes) of \$1.5 billion, more money than the gross national product of 90 percent of the nations of the world. They employed 555 thousand people, approximately the same number as live in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Of the 72 plants that

were in use before Three Mile Island, several have since been ordered shut down. One-half were owned and operated by 11 of the largest utilities.

Fifteen or so giant corporations dominate this side of the nuclear markets. To the 100 men at the top of these corporations, the drive to corner the nuclear market is both absolutely necessary and as American as a spray-on deodorant and Close-up mouthwash. When General Public Utilities (GPU) Chairman Kuhns says, "Nuclear power is an essential part of the energy picture of the country... we don't make anymore money from nuclear than other methods," he is being almost honest.

In the sense that nuclear power is cheaper, and therefore, they make bigger profits, they probably don't make any more money. But that is not how these people make money.

Clearly the world is a single market place to the giant

Nuclear Market

international corporations who deal in billions of dollars, where fortunes are made and lost everyday on the interest from loans. The first law of business is to maintain or improve your position in the market place. The motor that drives these companies toward control of the market place, the nuclear market, is the knowledge that if they don't do it, somebody else, somewhere else, sooner or later will. And if that happens then the first law of business will have been violated, and their position in the market place,

the world market place, will surely falter. These people are not about to take a back seat for anybody.

If this argument hasn't worked on anybody else, it must have worked on the U.S. government. In 1980 the government plans to dish out \$3.4 billion for all forms of energy research — three-fourths of it for nuclear research. You needn't go to Harvard Business School to figure out who's got the contracts to do the research and development and disposal of nuclear waste that are reflected in that \$3.4 billion

budget. No wonder Jimmy Carter says the nation is committed to nuclear power.

Nowhere is the monopolization of the nuclear market clearer than the mining and processing of uranium. The most recent reports from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA, a government-owned corporation) and the U.S. Dept. of Energy reveals that ten large oil companies control 50 percent of the country's uranium reserves. These same corporations process 40 percent of all the uranium into "yellow-cake" powder, which is then processed into tablets for the reactors. (See chart, page 54.)



Joseph M. Hendrie



Richard T. Kennedy



John F. Ahearn



Victor Gillinsky



Peter A. Bradford

If only one percent of the total assets of these corporations is invested in mining equipment (a figure that is hard to come by for those of us on the outside) that would be an investment of \$1.5 billion. With that much mining equipment spread across the world, you could peel it and turn it inside out.

A series of other processes which uranium goes through on its way to your toaster are controlled by even fewer corporations and the same names appear on the list: Kerr-McGee, Union Carbide, Westinghouse and General Electric. Thirty companies are in direct command of the entire nuclear industry from the mine to the juice in the stereo. They haven't captured the nuclear market — they created it. They are the modern merchants of the energy that runs cities, states and countries.

Members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (shown above) acted like 'blind men' during the Three Mile Island accident — They're under the nuclear gun with their hands in air.

They created the nuclear market to protect their position on the world energy market. In the process they advanced the technology (equipment and scientific methods) so far into the future that no one can compete with them.

There is oil under the ground all over the world. But anybody, any country, including the Soviet Union and China, that wants to introduce nuclear power has to buy from them. That's about as strong a position in the market as you can have. And that's the point.

These men are no longer simple energy merchants, buying and trading oil and electricity. They have become the brokers of technology. Sooner or later the Africans will be able to mine their own uranium, but they'll have to buy (most likely a long term lease with interest) their equipment from somebody.

YOUR MONEY OR YOUR LIGHTS

Who will pay for all this technology is a growing question. Next time you get an electric bill, try sending them a letter. Tell them you don't think nuclear power is safe, and you want to know how much of your bill goes to support nuclear energy before you pay it. See what happens.

On Thursday, April 22, James Lieberman, general counsel for General Public Utilities appeared before the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission to argue for a \$33



75,000 people demonstrated against the government's role in nuclear power in Washington on May 8.

million rate increase to help cover the cost of the damage at Three Mile Island. Lieberman argues. "If the commission does not want to see the company in bankruptcy it will permit the cost of the accident to be shared by investor and consumer alike....

But the commission turned the company down. Chairman Wilson Goode explained, "The commission cannot and will not sit back and allow the rate payer, by default, to be saddled with all the cost of the incident." Within a few days, Mr. Goode was in Washington, D.C. asking for a "substantial grant or contribution" to cover the cost of the accident. Goode said that federal aid was necessary "to avoid a profound deleterious impact on the utility industry and all consumers throughout the country."

The words were different and so were the characters, but

the plot was taken from a television police show about a stickup in which a hostage was taken. What Lieberman really was saying to the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission was, "If we don't get our money, buddy, we're going to shut your lights off!" This is the same thing they would tell you if you sent them a letter saying you didn't want to pay for nuclear power. You can be sure that they will get their money, one way or another. (There's probably an extra \$33 million laying around the Department of Energy). They are sitting in the middle of the market with one hand on a loaded cannon and the other on the light switch.

COMMONWEALTH EDISON

"I've never seen a time in my 41 years with the company when we've been in more financial peril than right now. If we don't get the interim rate

Nuclear Market

relief, we won't get the money to continue our building program at its present level. We'd have to stop a good deal of it, and that would mean some deterioration in our service," said Thomas G. Ayers, Chairman of the Board of Commonwealth Edison, speaking in defense of the company's request for an 18.3 percent rate increase (9.2 percent of it coming by July 1).

In 1974 Commonwealth Edison was rated as the seventh largest utility in the United States with assets over \$5 billion and a net income after taxes of \$180 million. Commonwealth Edison projects the cost of Mr. Ayers' building program at \$4.4 billion through 1983, or approximately 85 percent of the worth of the entire company by 1974 figures.

Edison operates seven nuclear power plants and has six more in production and planning stages. Its reliance on nuclear generation for electricity is the highest of any utility (45 percent of all electricity to its customers comes from nu-

clear plants) in the country. Because of that it is regarded as the leader in the use of nuclear power to generate electricity.

It is one of the two utilities (the other being TVA) that has an active investment in the mining and milling of uranium ore. All the other major nuclear-using utilities must buy the uranium after it has been processed and enriched.

Edison's budget for construction in 1979 is \$1.5 billion. They say that they have already raised \$680 million of that through the sale of stocks and bonds. They believe they can raise another \$420 million basically the same way. That is a total of \$1.1 billion, leaving them \$400 million short of their 1979 budget.

Since April of 1974, Commonwealth Edison has requested and received permission to hike its rates five times. This represented an overall rate increase of 27 percent, cost the consumers an additional \$500 million and gave the company an extra \$300 million to play around with. The 18.3 percent rate hike that they are trying to

get now would bring them an additional \$456 million, about as much as they need to keep their building program on time.

If you want to know how all this will affect you, add up your electric bills for the year, and multiply that times 18.3 percent. That's how much more Ayers thinks you should pay to "continue the building program at its present level."

It's right about here that the endless debating whether nuclear generated electricity or coal fired electricity is cheaper reaches the point of absurdity. Any thinking, rate-paying person can figure out what's really happening.

Commonwealth Edison is a giant multi-billion dollar utility corporation. It borrows billions of dollars (through the sale of stocks and bonds) to expand its operation continually, on the strength of its ability to get its price from each and every consumer of energy. Its price is determined by how much money is needed to continue to expand the operation, as broken down to the individual electric bill.

Remember, while Ayers and Kuhns and Exxon are talking in your ear about how much cheaper nuclear power will be in the long run, they have both hands in your pockets.

The next time they come around asking for a rate increase, "that will save the consumer money in the long run," just ask them what they did with the last \$750 million. □



Commonwealth Edison will spend \$4.4 billion on construction by 1983. Thomas Ayers (in-set) wants consumers to contribute \$450 million this year.

Dollars

&

Sense



Carter's War On Inflation: "Shooting At Chickens"

If a mad 1,000 pound bull and seven lame chickens were all charging at you, and you only had the time to get off a few shots, would you aim for the bull or the chickens? President Carter's war on inflation is shooting at chickens.

Inflation means that prices are rising faster than incomes and that our dollar buys less of what we need. It is caused by a lot of things that those who control business and money do. There are some things that the government can do to control inflation, some large, some small, but Carter seems intent

on not doing the large things that could be done.

The biggest increase in inflation has come recently in the areas of housing, food and transportation. The cost of housing has gone up, especially in Chicago, dramatically in the last six months. There are two main reasons.

One, the rising cost of utilities and heating oil hits the homeowner or is passed on to the renter by the landlord. Carter has made no attempt to restrain rising utility prices and has given in to almost every

demand the oil companies have made to allow them to reap greater profits, which means higher prices.

Two, banking and real estate interests have slowed down new construction and converted rental units to condominiums on a massive scale, thereby reducing the number of rental units available. With the number of rental units reduced, they have been able to cause greater demand and as a result rents have been raised outrageously. Carter has done nothing to regulate the real estate industry.

The rise in fuel costs has made it more expensive for the farmers to operate. In addition, the big farming and beef producers have reduced the amount of produce, grains and beef they put on the market, so again there is more demand, and again prices rise. Carter has done nothing to regulate the food industry.

Finally, transportation costs have risen in great part because of the rising fuel costs, and that means oil. The failure of government to create adequate, cheap public transportation means we are dependent on the automobile. Cars fall apart more quickly, and not enough are produced to meet needs, so prices can be raised to meet demand. Carter has made a stab at trying to talk the auto industry into keeping increases at seven percent per year, but has been ineffective.

The most inflationary part of the U.S. economy is the defense

DOLLARS & SENSE

budget. Billions of dollars of goods are produced: missiles, airplanes, bombs, etc. Workers are paid money in wages for producing these things. That means that people have more cash to spend. But since nobody buys the weapons and bombs and missiles, the wages have to be spent on other things. That means more cash is there to be spent buying goods, but no more goods are produced that can be bought. This means there is a greater demand for the goods that can be bought, and so the prices can be raised: on things like food, housing and transportation. But Carter has simply raised the federal defense budget every year, creating more and more inflation.

Public housing holds down inflation, because it puts inexpensive housing units on the market, and this brings down demand, which means the landlords can't get away with charging as much rent. But the federal government has almost stopped building public housing altogether. Instead, the federal government prefers to spend millions in rent subsidy programs that allow a very few people, many of them with moderate to middle incomes, to pay higher rents with federal help, thereby driving up the rent inflation.

Public health care holds down inflation, because it makes inexpensive health care available and holds down the demand on the private doctors and hospitals so they can't

charge as high prices. But Carter won't even consider a national health service, as proposed by Congressman Dellums, which would create more publicly-financed hospitals and health centers in urban and rural communities. Instead, Carter will only consider a national health insurance, which will have the federal government helping people pay higher and higher prices for health care: until the federal

The inflation bulls that are charging us are the bull of the defense budget, the bull of the banking and real estate interests, the bull of the giant food and beef producers, and the bull of the insurance, drug and hospital corporations.

money runs out, and they don't get as much help. In fact, Carter has already said he opposes introducing any across-the-board national health insurance just yet because it would be so inflationary.

The inflation bulls that are charging us are the bull of the defense budget, the bull of the utility companies, the bull of the banking and real estate interests, the bull of the giant food and beef producers, and the bull of the insurance, drug and hospital corporations. Cart-

er isn't even shooting at the bulls. He is shooting at the chickens.

Who are the chickens?

One of the chickens is occupational health. The Carter administration has blocked regulation of the textile mills which would force them to control the dust which is giving 80 percent of textile workers the fatal brown lung disease. Carter says that safety guidelines would cost the companies too much money, and they would have to raise their prices, and this would be inflationary. A lame chicken in the inflationary charge if there ever was one!

Another chicken is workers' wages. The Carter administration has jumped into labor negotiations, as in the recent rubber workers contract talks, and told the companies that if they give the workers more than a seven percent increase they will cancel their government contracts. So as the cost of housing, food and transportation goes up by 15 percent Carter fights inflation by keeping wages down to seven percent increases.

Finally, Carter and the Congress seem intent on cutting welfare program costs in order to cut down the general purchasing power of the public. A mother with one child on public aid who receives \$200 a month and pays \$175 for rent alone is Carter's number one target to cut inflation. □

THE EDITORS

SUPREME COURT

THE WEBER CASE:

(Washington, D.C.) A massive grassroots movement is being built across the country to demand that the U.S. Supreme Court overturn the dangerous Weber decision. Such a reversal would block an attempt to end on-the-job affirmative action programs that help Black and other poor, working people gain employment and promotion.

At issue in the Weber case are rulings by two lower federal courts that Kaiser Aluminum's on-the-job training program, designed to increase the number of minorities and women in skilled craft positions, violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The major question is whether affirmative action programs are legal.

Brian Weber, a 32-year-old White laboratory analyst at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana plant, sued Kaiser and the United Steel Workers of America (USWA), claiming the affirmative action plan in the 1974 labor agreement between Kaiser and the USWA amounted to "reverse discrimination."

The agreement set up an on-the-job training program for skilled craft positions, designed to admit Whites and Blacks on a one-to-one basis. Candidates would be admitted from separate Black and White seniority lists until the percentage of Black skilled workers matched the Black population surround-

ing the plant. The Gramercy plant, opened in 1958, is located in a community with a 40 percent Black population. The agreement was also aimed at bringing the number of women in skilled positions up to five percent.

When the affirmative action program was started, Weber signed up. He knew what the program was about, because, as a trustee of USWA Local 5702 at the plant, he had sat in on the talks that resulted in the program. When Weber was not one of the first 13 unskilled workers selected (seven Black and six White), he immediately filed suit charging discrimination.

In recent interviews, Weber has admitted that he knew he never had a chance at the program because of his low seniority rating—five years.

When the case was tried, first in a federal district court and then in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the courts held that Kaiser never discriminated against Blacks or women at Gramercy.

The issue of past discrimination is one of the key legal issues in the case. To some it is a "catch 22" situation. Neither the company nor the union wants to admit to any past discrimination. If they did they would open a flood of damage suits by Blacks. If they didn't, then the court would say there



Brian Weber filed suit against Kaiser Aluminum and the United Steel Workers claiming "reverse discrimination."



U.S. Supreme Court

is no need for affirmative action.

The facts in the case, and the manner in which both the company and the union argued the case in the courts, do in fact indicate past discrimination.

In 1974, Blacks made up 15 percent of the entire work force, but held only five of 290 craft jobs (two percent.) None were held by women. Blacks challenged Kaiser's discrimination on the job and in court, winning a \$225,000 settlement and forcing the government to investigate further. When the government threatened to withdraw millions of dollars in government contracts, Kaiser finally implemented the affirmative action plan.

When oral arguments were heard in the Supreme Court, March 28, it became clear that the people who will be most affected by the outcome of the case — Black factory workers — were not and never had been represented before the courts.

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall asked Michael Fontham, Weber's attorney,

"Who represents the Black workers in this case?" Fontham was at a loss for answer. Neither of the defendants, Kaiser or the union, called a single Black worker to testify when the case was heard in Fifth District Court five years ago.

Only four witnesses were called at that time: Weber, another White worker who charged "reverse discrimination" and two Kaiser officials. The union called no witnesses.

If past discrimination had been shown at the Kaiser plant, then the training program may have been viewed by the lower courts as a legal solution to the problem rather than preference to Black workers.

"There's no question that the government was remiss," said Richard Devine, deputy director of the Office of Contract Compliance in the Labor Department. Devine admits that the appropriate federal agencies should have entered the case as intervening plaintiffs on behalf of Black workers or at least had a friend-of-the-court brief in the district court.

In a last minute attempt to give the Black workers a voice in the case, a New Orleans attorney, Pam Beyer, working on behalf of a number of Black Kaiser employees, has filed a brief with the Supreme Court. Her brief argues that the Black workers are an indispensable party to the case, without whose participation a just decision is impossible. This development could send the case back to the lower courts without a Supreme Court ruling.

Affirmative action programs, established through the Black-led civil rights movement of the 50's, 60's and 70's, were intended to ensure that everybody in the country got an equal opportunity to cut a slice of the pie. Poor Whites, as well as minorities have gained as a result of these programs—through summer youth employment, housing subsidies for seniors and large families, job training and expanded community services.

Millions of workers covered by affirmative action programs could be affected by the Weber case. James Balanoff, District 31 director, USWA, under-

scored the case as one of the growing right-wing attacks against labor unity, at a conference held by his union last winter.

"Right-wing forces," he said, "lost out in their 'right-to-work' campaign in Missouri, but they are hoping to win in the courts on the Weber case to dismantle plant-wide seniority."

Plant-wide seniority had been won by the steelworkers

in the Consent Decree of 1972 with major employers in the steel and aluminum industry.

The Consent Decree established plant-wide seniority for all workers for the first time and broke down a seniority system that was often divided by job and therefore by race.

John Harris, Executive Director of the Chicago NAACP Commercial Division and active in efforts to establish affirma-

tive action programs in the construction trades, stressed the danger of the Weber case:

"The Bakke decision surely weakened the already fragile structure of affirmative action concepts and implementation on professional levels. This additional suit has dealt a devastating blow to the entire scope of affirmative action programs and will ultimately render efforts in this area ineffective." □

'Bill of Rights' Attacked In Supreme Court Decisions

Two recent rulings indicate a continuing trend of the Supreme Court in curtailing protections guaranteed by the Constitution's Bill of Rights.

The federal court ruled in April of this year that police need not always obtain written proof that a suspect waived his or her right to have a lawyer present before the person can be questioned. By a five to three vote, the court said that judges must decide, based on the facts of each case, whether

a suspect might have implicitly waived his right to an attorney by talking with police without a written waiver. This decision seriously curtails the rights of criminal defendants as outlined by the 1966 Miranda decision. In that case the court held that police may not question a suspect until the person is informed of his or her right to remain silent and see a lawyer.

In another decision, the court continued to chip away at what reporters have viewed as their free press and free speech guarantees under the Constitution's First Amendment.

The court voted six to three that public figures, suing news media for libel, have the right to scrutinize reporters' thoughts and journalists' private editorial conferences in an effort to prove they were libeled. This ruling stemmed from a case involving retired Army Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert who sued CBS and reporter Mike Wallace for a segment of "Sixty Minutes" in which Herb-

ert claims his reputation was damaged.

A 1964 Supreme Court ruling that previously had been hailed as a protection of the freedom of the press was cited by the court in its decision. In that case, it was decided that public figures could collect damages only when they proved "actual malice" by those who defamed them. The current Supreme Court ruled, therefore, that to determine whether malice was intended, reporters would have to answer questions regarding their thoughts and the decision-making processes used in developing news articles and programs.

Reporters, editors, broadcasters and publishers have expressed fear that this Supreme Court decision will have a "chilling effect" on the media, leading to self-censorship. It was widely felt that the chilling effect would fall heaviest on small news organizations that lack the resources to fight long libel suits.

JUSTICE

Kerr-McGee Ordered To Pay \$10.5 Million In Silkwood Trial

(Oklahoma City) A six member federal jury here ordered Kerr-McGee, the nation's largest producer of commercially used uranium, to pay \$10.5 million to the three children of Karen Silkwood.

The judgement set a precedent in punishing a nuclear processor for the effect of radiation on people outside the plant and provided a warning to other large corporations processing radioactive and other poisonous materials. Prior to this the companies could defend themselves by proving that their operations met federal safety requirements. The Silkwood judgement renders that defense meaningless.

Silkwood was 28 when she died in a one car crash on November 13, 1974. She had been contaminated by radioactivity in her apartment one week before. At the time of the accident, she was on her way to turn over documents to a reporter from the New York Times, revealing gross safety violations at the Kerr-McGee plant outside Oklahoma City. She had been an employee at the plant and was involved in an investigation of the mishandling of radioactive materials by plant personnel. Silkwood's belief, which was reaffirmed through the trial, was that the company intentionally kept workers ignorant of the danger and potency of the materials they were handling.

It was her meticulous documentation of these and other violations that brought her into conflict with high company officials.

While company spokesmen maintain that Silkwood contaminated herself to dramatize a major problem and sell a story to the press, those who have been close to the case since 1974, and earlier, believe that the company played a direct role in the auto accident that took her life.

After hearing the decision, Bill Paul, attorney for Kerr-McGee, stated, "We will definitely, absolutely appeal."

Gerald Spence, attorney for the Silkwood family, explained the effects of the verdict, saying it "means truth is cheaper than fiction, and the American people have a chance to survive... The message she was trying to tell — that workers were dying, workers were being poisoned, that the public was being misled, that X-rays of fuel rods were being doctored — this message she had to tell the people was told in this case, just as if she sat at the counsel table beside us." □

Mistrial In Newton Case

(Oakland, Calif.) Huey P. Newton, President of the Black Panther Party, is scheduled to go on trial July 30 for a second time on charges that he murdered a Black prostitute in 1974.

Following a month long trial, a mistrial was declared on March 24 in the Alameda County Superior Court after the jury said it was hopelessly deadlocked. After three days of deliberations the sequestered jury reported that they had taken three votes and each time had voted ten to two for



Karen Silkwood's "accidental" death has been tied to her discovery of safety violations at Kerr McGee.

acquittal. Under California law there must be a unanimous verdict from a jury in criminal cases.

The key point in the 18 day trial came when Michelle Jenkins, a friend of the murdered prostitute Kathleen Smith, recanted her earlier testimony that she saw Huey shoot Smith on an Oakland street corner in the early morning hours of August 6, 1974. Eleven days after she testified for the prosecution against Huey, Jenkins returned to the stand, this time as a defense witness, and said she had lied in her previous testimony.

Asked by Michael Kennedy, defense counsel for Huey Newton, why she had lied about his guilt for nearly five years, Jenkins said that because she is a prostitute, the district attorney's office and the Oakland Police Department had threat-



Huey P. Newton, President of the Black Panther Party.

ened to put her in jail if she did not implicate Newton. The young Black woman was only 17 at the time of the incident.

Meanwhile, the Committee to Stop the Retrial of Huey P. Newton has implemented a massive petition drive demanding that Alameda County district attorney Lowell Jensen drop the murder charges a-

gainst the Black Panther Party President.

The petition now being circulated by committee volunteers notes that courtroom expenditures alone in the first trial cost taxpayers \$3,375 per day, totaling \$60,750 for the 18 day trial. "The county court system," the petition states, "is already severely overcrowded with cases. We believe that your (Jensen's) decision to retry Mr. Newton, whose first trial ended in a 10-2 vote for acquittal, is financially irresponsible given the current fiscal crisis in our government."

"The hundreds of thousands of dollars that would be spent on a second trial could be better used by you and your staff to create methods to reduce the overcrowded court schedules and to make other needed improvements in the county's criminal justice system." □

INTERCOMMUNAL PERSPECTIVE

Regime Still Illegal In Rhodesia

(Salisbury, Zimbabwe) Bishop Abel Muzorewa, labeled a turn-coat and Black puppet by leaders of Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front, was elected Rhodesia's (Zimbabwe's) first Black prime minister in elections held there on April 17 to 21.

It had been the hope of the

White minority regime that the setting up of a biracial government, through the semblance of free elections, would gain them international recognition and, more importantly, undercut the UN imposed economic sanctions which have kept the regime both politically and economically isolated.

Political observers, however, point out two outstanding facts. One, the election itself was a fraud, with massive irregularities reported, and two, even with a Black majority parliament, the White minority retains firm control of the country.

Reverend Nbabaningi Sithole, bitter at his defeat as one of three Black candidates for premier, exposed the elections as having been "stage man-

aged" and riddled with "gross irregularities." Evidence of the election fraud was revealed when ballots cast in two of the eight provinces exceeded the government's estimate of the number of eligible adults by a total of 17,000 votes.

Two provinces, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West, reported exaggerated turnouts of 108.1 percent and 100.8 per cent, respectively, of the official estimated voting populations, while a third province, Mashonaland East, reported a bogus figure of 94.4 per cent.

The first of the international "observers" to report on the election charged that the voting had been neither fair nor free because of massive coercion of Blacks to go to the polls despite their unwillingness to participate in what they felt to be a sham election.

This condemnation of the election was made by Lord Chitnis, a former official of Britain's Liberal Party and director of the Rowntree Trust which some years ago donated \$120 thousand to Muzorewa. Chitnis charged that the private armies of Muzorewa and Sithole as well as employers forced Blacks to vote, and in the "protected villages" no one had been allowed out until they had filled out a ballot form.

Regardless of the election results in which a Black face was named to premier, the facts show that the so-called internal settlement backed by martial law, which set up these



Robert Mugabe — "We will continue to fight... a system which oppressed the majority of the people."

elections, serves only to maintain the power of the current illegal regime.

Ian Smith, current prime minister of the illegal White minority regime, has announced that he will remain in the cabinet until either Britain or the U.S. recognizes the new government. Secondly, Smith's bloc of White delegates, elected in a separate election for Whites only, will have the second largest representation in parliament with 28 seats. With a four-fifths vote required on all major questions, Smith's Rhodesian Front Party will hold the decisive edge. In addition, the White minority retains control of all of the country's major institutions, including the military, the police and the courts.

In spite of substantial questions raised about the democratic nature of the election, a conservative movement in the U.S. Senate now wants the United States to lift sanctions against Zimbabwe as a result of

the April election. North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker and Arizona Senator Dennis DeConcini have been among the outspoken members of Congress supporting this position.

Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York, however, said that it was "impossible to conclude" that the election had offered a genuine opportunity for Blacks in Zimbabwe to "freely and fairly" determine their political future.

"Hundreds of thousands of Blacks were... intimidated" by Rhodesian authorities, Solarz said. If the U.S. lifted sanctions now, the congressman added, it would enter a "de facto alliance with the White government of South Africa, alienate all the Black leaders of nearby countries and end any chance for a negotiated settlement in either Rhodesia or South West Africa (Namibia)."

In the meantime, the guns of the Patriotic Front have not been silenced. In the face of the "election," the Patriotic Front vowed to continue its war of liberation. In the words of Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe African National Union, one of the partners in the Patriotic Front, "We will continue to fight, whether it is a Black or White government. We are fighting against a system which oppresses the majority of the Zimbabwean people, and the fact that certain Black leaders have chosen to be a part of it makes no difference to us." □

MUSIC



WILLIE NELSON

Combining the speed of rock, the structure of pop and the beat of western swing, you could call the Willie Nelson sound just plain good music. The following exclusive interview gives some insight as to how he manages to remain a down to earth man while engaging a loyal constituency from every sector of society.

KEEP STRONG: First, we'd like to thank you for taking the time to do an interview. There are a lot of people who were brought up on your music who live in this neighborhood (Uptown) who didn't get the opportunity to come tonight. This is the largest concentration of country music lovers in

the Chicago area, and these are the people you are reaching with this interview.

WILLIE: First of all, you're sure welcome. Sorry they couldn't make it, maybe next time.

KEEP STRONG: There's a lot of talk about Outlaw Music. We'd like to know, what you call it, what you are speaking to.

WILLIE: Well, I think that what we do is more than one kind of music. It's hard to put labels on the kind of music that we play because in that case you're going to have to label it. outlaw music... I don't know

what outlaw music is. I know what country music is, or I know what I think pop music is or rock and roll or bluegrass, but I don't know what outlaw music is. That's a term that someone else came up with. I don't know the definition. I think it was a way some of them come up with to sell records and maybe the fact that some people like Waylon and myself and some more guys, a lot more guys just happened to be the ones that got singled out. We may have been the ones that were screaming the loudest or making the most noise, so I think they called us outlaws.

KEEP STRONG: What do you like to do — for yourself?

WILLIE NELSON

WILLIE: Play music. I really enjoy playing music. I think that's why I've been doing it so long, why everybody in the band continues to stay together over the years. Everybody loves playing music.

KEEP STRONG: What kind of advice do you have for the young people in the community who have the talent and the drive and the love of music, but just don't have the money to put into it. How did you make it? Did you make it the hard way?

WILLIE: First of all I don't think music should be thought of necessarily as a way to make money. I think when you start thinking of it in those terms, you miss it entirely. It's a way to enjoy yourself, and if you happen to make money along the way, well, then you're very lucky. If you have talent, and you keep doing whatever it is

that you do, the world will find out about you.

KEEP STRONG: Do you sing to any special audience or to anybody who listens to you?

WILLIE: Well, anybody who listens to me is special.

KEEP STRONG: What were your early influences in music. What was it that made you a musician?

WILLIE: My grandparents were music teachers, and they knew the rudiments of music, and they knew the chord structure and all those things, and they used to teach me little things along the way. My granddaddy died when I was six years old, and then my grandmother started teaching me things like my granddaddy was teaching me things when I was four or five years old. Then after he died I was kind of left by myself to learn the guitar because my grandfather couldn't play guitar. So I took it up myself, and my sister

learned to play the piano.

KEEP STRONG: What about your mother and father. What did your father do?

WILLIE: My father by trade was a mechanic — automobile mechanic — for most of his life. But he was a musician, too. He played in bands and had his own band. In fact, he still has his own band, and he still plays down in Texas.

KEEP STRONG: A lot of people want to know, when we interview a celebrity, what you think of the situation in this country, different forces that are at play, your general philosophy on life.

WILLIE: I'm very optimistic about the future and the conflict in this country and in the world. I see a trend of positive thinking; positive thinking and positive action, and if enough people keep doing that, it's got to progressively get better.

KEEP STRONG: We have a lot of people in our community who have had their homes burned out from under their feet, who suffer from black lung, who face the problems of glue sniffing among our youth. What do you have to say to the people who are struggling to survive?

WILLIE: I would say to anyone who's going through any kind of ups and downs, that everybody goes through sometimes, that positive thinking is



Willy Nelson and the band are consistently at the top of the music field.

continued on page 74.

NEVER GIVE UP

**Chicago's Own
Johnny Lira,
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Very soon Johnny Lira will be fighting for the lightweight boxing championship of the world. Most observers agree that if Lira gets the chance to fight for the championship, through a round robin tournament organized by big money investors and high pressure promoters, he will win it.

Lira is a product of Chicago neighborhoods, and he hasn't forgotten it.

We found him at the Union Boys' Club, 524 N. Wolcott, teaching the basics of boxing to the young people of that community.

KEEP STRONG: What community did you grow up in?

LIRA: The community that I'm in right now — the Westtown area, Humboldt Park area.

KEEP STRONG: What were some of the things that were happening in the neighborhood when you were growing up? What were the kinds of things you were involved in?

LIRA: The things that were going on when I was growing up are almost the same exact things that are going on right now, just the names have been changed. There is no difference

whatsoever, except for the names, like Martinelli is changed to Perez, an Italian name to a Latin name. The kids are getting into some trouble — they're hanging out on the corners, they're trying to impress the girls. If the girls think something is cool — it's cool just because the boys think it's cool to impress them. So everything is based on coolness — being slick, keeping some stereotype that they see on films or T.V. or something that's going on in their family.

When I was growing up there were a number of gangs. In a ten block square area there

were anywhere from three to five gangs, maybe ten gangs in a ten block area, but three that were of size and degree that they would get into a number of mishaps with the law. And then the majority of them were low profile, and they didn't get into very big things, just the basic 'I want to fight.'

KEEP STRONG: What about drugs, are there drugs around the neighborhood?

LIRA: There's a number. It's very big, big area for drugs and users and dealing. All kinds of narcotics. Heroin, tick, alcoholism. They're going down the drain all the time.

KEEP STRONG: Are a lot of kids dropping out of school?

LIRA: Right now, yes. Right now there's a very good school but they're not offering them anything. A lot of the teachers they don't show that they care about the children, and the children, young men, young women, they think that they don't care. They get that from their family, they think that their family don't care. No one cares, so they don't care. But they don't know that they have to start caring first. Once they start caring, then their family will care. Their family cares, they care, then the teacher will care. They got to learn that on their own. You can tell them, but it's a matter of time. Some learn when they're 13, some when they're 25. Some never learn at all.

KEEP STRONG: How did you decide to get into boxing?

LIRA: Well, I always liked boxing as a sport ever since I was a young man, or a young child watching television with my father when they had the weekly fights, like Cavalcade of Sports. It was always in my heart. As a little kid I got into boxing here at the Boys Club. Then when I got older I got into girls, street fighting and gangs.

But the basics and the fundamentals is what carried me on through my street experience as a street fighter and which helped me out. But when I got a little too old or what I thought was too old for that kind of thing, the gang banging, I saw it wasn't getting me anywhere. I just fell back into boxing. I liked the sport. My brother-in-law gave me a good ass whipping, and I wanted to get even with him. I went to go train, and in that

process it made me get back into it and build a career.

KEEP STRONG: You really only started boxing professionally seriously six years ago. How do you account for the fact that you have been able to rise to the top of the lightweight ranks in such a short time?

LIRA: Well, if you think six years is a short time, you've been misled, because it wasn't six years. It's been two years — two years as a professional. The other time I was doing it as an amateur. I was doing it because I liked it before. I always had my sights set on becoming a professional because it was a way that I could do something that I enjoyed doing and make money at it.

So, that's how I got into it, and the reason for my rise to



"But they don't know that they have to start caring first...Once they start caring then their family will care. They got to learn that on their own."

Never Give Up

fame in such a short time was because I hadn't dodged any opponent. My opponents had been picked, pretty tough opponents, and a lot of people in boxing on a rating committee, a committee that rates you in your class telling you how you are, they saw the quality of the opponents that I had fought. I'm undefeated of every opponent that I had fought. So that's it.

KEEP STRONG: What's your training routine?

LIRA: When I'm in serious training I arise about 5:30 or 6:00 every morning. I do my roadwork sometimes on the lakefront but mostly in Humboldt Park. It consists of five to seven miles. Then I eat breakfast, take a short nap. I do something with my daughter — take her to school or to a day camp or to her grandmother's

house. She plays with the kids over there. I go to the gym and work out — loosen up, three to four rounds, spar. Sparring is practicing with another opponent for anywhere from five to ten rounds. I hit the speed bag three rounds. I hit the heavy bag three rounds, then the saco loc, what's called the crazy bags for three rounds. I skip rope for three rounds. I do my calisthenics for about 15-20 minutes. I take a shower, and I'm off to a nice big lunch.

KEEP STRONG: Could you explain a little about the current situation with your management?

LIRA: One thing, I have a contract. I'm filed with a manager which I'm trying to be released of at this time. I'm trying to get into a position where I can manage my own career. I didn't think that I was managed very wisely by my manager. I thought that he was misled by a number of people in the boxing business, and he

wasn't looking out for my best interest. I don't know if he was doing it on purpose, or if he was misled or forced into the position he was put into. But I know that I can take care of myself better than anyone else. I have been doing it up 'til now.

Fighting is a rough game, and you can be beat at any time because the kids you're fighting are trying to beat you. I figure that the name of the game is I'm doing something I like to do. I want to fight the best, so I'm not worried about a loss. If a kid beats me, I'm still happy. If someone better than me beats me, that's fine. But if they don't, it makes me better because I figure I'm fighting the best, I'm beating the best. That must make me the best.

KEEP STRONG: Is it true that different promoters are putting pressure on you to sign with them?

LIRA: I'm not going to say any names. There's a number of people. Not one promoter, not two promoters, not three promoters, but a number of promoters, a number of managers from all different walks of life and all different areas of the country have contacted me here at my place of employment, at the Boys' Club, at home, at my mother's house, with my trainer in Las Vegas. The talk is if I don't play ball with them, they could ruin my whole career for me, and that's as plain and as simple as it could be. All I can say is that I don't know what I have done to these people. All I am is just a skinny little kid who grew up



Fighting is a rough game... I'm doing something I like to do. I want to fight the best so I'm not worried about a loss."

Never Give Up

on the streets of Chicago trying to make a halfway decent living. I don't want all of the money, all of the pie. I just want a piece of the pie. They won't hardly give me any crumbs, and I won't stand for it.

KEEP STRONG: There is supposed to be some sort of round robin elimination. How does it work?

LIRA: It's supposed to work this way. You take the number one, the number two, the number three, the number four world contenders. You match them up. The number one against the number three, the number two against the num-

ber four contender or any way fit that the World Boxing Association (WBA) and the World Boxing Council (WBC) sees equal, to give everyone an equal chance at the title. Now because some people are doing things under the table, I don't know who will be getting into the round robin. I don't know what's going on. But if it's done legitimately and equal, the champion of the world is supposed to be decided by who's the best fighter.

KEEP STRONG: What do you think your chances are if you get into this elimination?

LIRA: If it finally comes about, and I fight for the championship of the world, I am the champion of the world. Right now I am the champion of the world

because none of them can beat me. I have nothing against them — no hard feelings. None of them can beat me. I have all the advantages. I got the biggest heart, the biggest reach, I'm baddest fighter. They don't stand a chance. God didn't bring me this far to let it go down the drain because of some bum.

KEEP STRONG: What kind of advice would you give to young people growing up in poor communities like this one and others in Chicago?

LIRA: Get all the education you can from every resource you can — from school, from neighbors, what's going on in the streets, from books, from movies, from channel 11, and never give up. □

WILLIE NELSON

continued from page 70.

real important in order to get by those down periods. If we sit around and start thinking negative, well, you'll make yourself sick, first of all. You'll be literally sick releasing all kinds of poisonous crap into your system caused by negative thoughts one built on top of another. And first thing you know, you're mentally, physically and spiritually sick. So, regardless of how bad things are, in order to turn it around, the first thing to do is to change your attitude.

KEEP STRONG: Is there

something that you want to talk about, perhaps a record that's coming out?

WILLIE: The Lone Star Record Label with Ray Wiley Hubbard. These guys I like to give a plug every chance I get. The label has six guys including myself. Right now we're adding more people to the label all the time. Look out for Lone Star Records.

KEEP STRONG: Are you going to make a movie?

WILLIE: There's lots of talk about movies, and I haven't been in one yet. We're still talking about it — the Red Headed Stranger movie. The movie would be just to follow the album, and the album

speaks for itself. There's another one called the Songwriter that we're still talking about doing. The script's already finished. It's about the music business in Texas. The crooked dealings and the rip-offs and Nashville and the publishing companies and the record companies and the agents and the promoters.

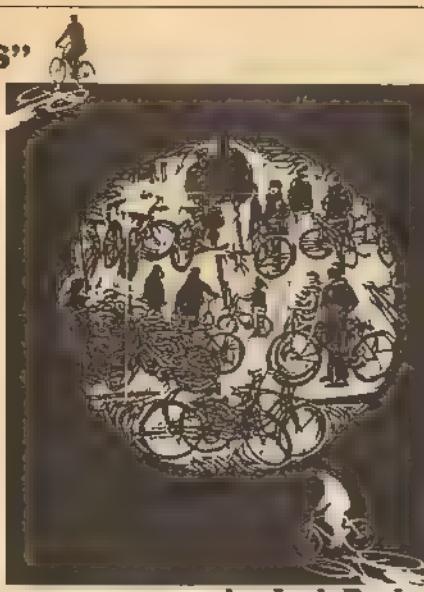
KEEP STRONG: You're going to make everybody mad at you.

WILLIE: Sure, just piss them all off.

Since this interview Willie returned to Niles, Illinois with Leon Russell. Their tight, steady sound can be heard on their just released album ONE MORE FOR THE ROAD.

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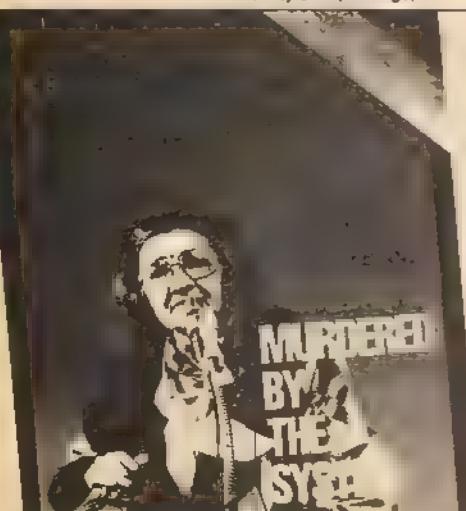
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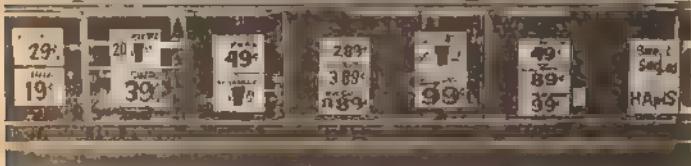
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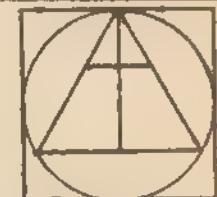
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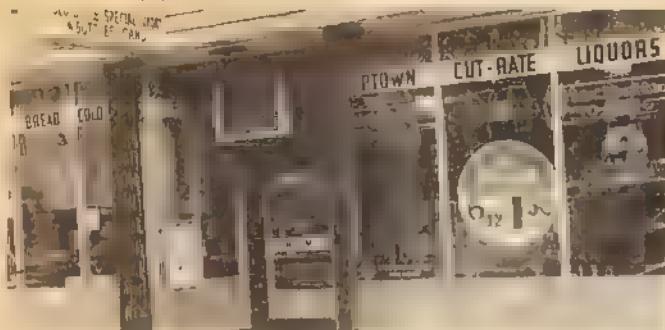
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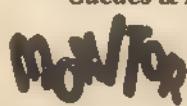
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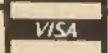
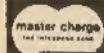
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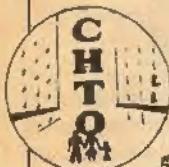
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Legal Education & Defense Program

Offers counseling, advice and assistance in finding an attorney when necessary in any kind of legal, welfare or social security dispute. Special clinics are offered for specific welfare and legal problems, including training of community advocates.

Heart Of Uptown Block Club Coalition & Community Development Program

Provides a successful structure for detailing and obtaining basic city services and development of decent low-cost housing and community employment.

Tenants Survival Union

Provides assistance and community support in landlord-tenant disputes. Building management and maintenance skills which exist in the community are put to use in order to improve neglected buildings.

Uptown Community Learning Center

Provides high school diploma and college degree educational programs based on the needs of the community and recognizing the wealth of experience, knowledge and intelligence in the oppressed communities.

Black Lung Association

Provides assistance to ex-coal miners and their widows in their struggle to get the benefits they are entitled to by law.

Mutual aid programs also exist to deal with basic food, transportation and medical needs to the more severely afflicted black lung victims.

Food Cooperatives

Provides good quality foods at lower than supermarket prices through community participation and community cooperative buying.

